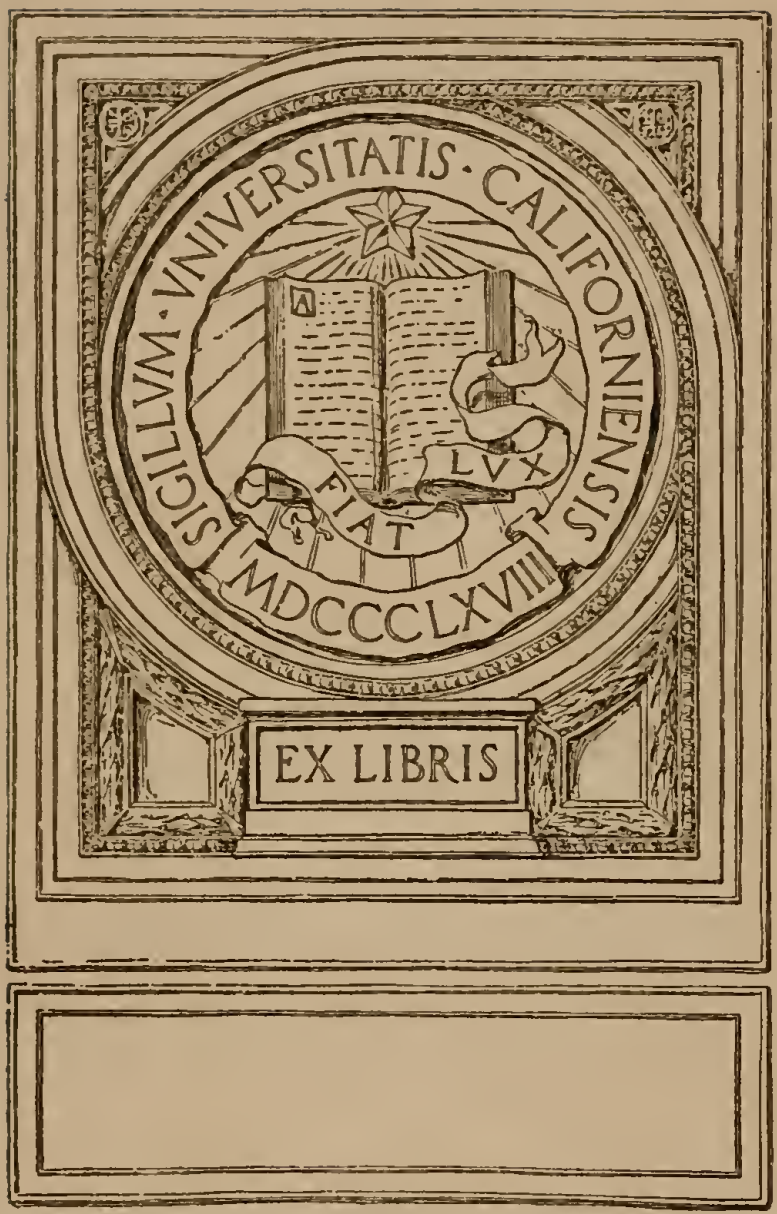
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THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF FRANCE

1789–1910

BY

MURIEL O. DAVIS

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AUTHOR OF 'THE STORY OF ENGLAND', ETC.

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PREFACE

THIS book is intended to serve as an introduction to Modern French History in the Upper and Middle Forms of Secondary Schools. My grateful thanks are due to Miss Winifred Haythorne, of Somerville College, who read both the manuscript and the proofs and helped me by numberless suggestions and criticisms. A list of the chief works which I have consulted will be found at the beginning of this volume.

M. O. DAVIS.

UNIVERSITY HALL, BANGOR.
July 1, 1916.

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The following works are recommended for further study of this subject :—

Ramsay Muir. *Historical Atlas for Schools.*
Carlyle. *French Revolution,* 3 vols. Ed. C. R. L. Fletcher.
Lowes Dickenson. *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France.*
H. A. L. Fisher. *Bonapartism.*
Holland Rose. *Napoleon.*
Napoleonic Era.
Rosebery. *Napoleon : the Last Phase.*
Moreton Macdonald. *History of France,* vols. ii and iii.
J. E. C. Bodley. *France.*
Poincaré. *How France is Governed.*
Davis and Morgan. *French Policy since 1871.*
Letters of Queen Victoria.
Seignobos. *Political History of Contemporary Europe.* Chaps. v, vi, vii.
Camb. Mod. Hist. Vols. vii–xii.
Fyffe. *History of Modern Europe.*
Articles in *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* eleventh edition.

CHAPTER I

THE CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It is usual for the sake of convenience to divide history into epochs or periods, though it is often well-nigh impossible to choose a significant event which will mark the end of one age or the beginning of another. Sometimes great changes amounting to revolutions in society are brought about slowly and almost imperceptibly; unobtrusive forces may be at work which escape the observation of all save a few. History teaches us that one aspect of human civilization often gradually melts into another, and that we, like so many Rip Van Winkles, may suddenly awake, and find ourselves conscious of changes, though unable to say at what precise moment these changes began. Occasionally, however, an event stands out as a landmark.

Difficult as is the intricate story of the French Revolution, it is at least easy to point to an event which ushered in this new phase of history. The 4th of May 1789, the day upon which the States-General met at Versailles after an interval of 175 years, was marked out clearly as an epoch-making date, not only for contemporaries but for later students of history. The fact that since 1614 the Kings of France had not convoked such an assembly was enough in itself to make the meeting extraordinarily interesting; but, in addition, the eyes of all living Frenchmen were fixed upon this assembly with hope for the future, believing that its work would mark the dawning of a new era. Its members,

with equal hopefulness, were determined to put new political theories into practical form and to attempt nothing less than the regeneration of France. For these reasons we, too, may regard it as a point from which we may look backward and forward at the history of France; backward because the Revolution was a movement that had its roots in the past; and forward because of its great influence on modern times. It did not burst out like the sudden eruption of a volcano. Contemporaries, to whom historical perspective was more difficult, and foreigners, like our own Edmund Burke and Arthur Young, had long foretold it, for they had seen it 'casting its shadows before'. Looking back we, too, can see how the monarchy had been tried and found wanting, and why upon this day the death-knell of the *ancien régime* was sounded.

Such a prophetic idea was far from the mind of Louis XVI when he took the momentous step of summoning the States-General. A worried King, at the end of his tether, he called it to save himself from financial difficulties, and to put an end to intolerable bickerings with the Parlement of Paris. On the other hand, the deputies who were convoked had definite ends in view, though they hardly knew how those ends might be attained, or even how to set about their work. Their aim was to remodel the whole of French society; how they knew not; they did not even realize their own ignorance of statecraft. They met together, simply feeling that the times were out of joint, that the whole machinery of society was inadequate. And it came to pass, because of this vague statesmanship, that quarrels and struggles ensued, followed by bloodshed and all the horrors of civil war.

On this day then, May 4, 1789, was rung up the curtain for the tragedy of the French Revolution. Carlyle has rightly called it 'The baptism day of Democracy! . . . What a work, O Earth and Heavens, what a work!' And whether or no the men who set this work afoot knew what they were doing, whether or no they guessed the lengths to which their reforms would drive the nation, it cannot be denied that on this day began also the trial of democratic government in France.

We may well ask ourselves at this point, What were the causes of discontent and unrest? Why is it that men spoke either scornfully or pathetically of the *ancien régime*? How was it that Louis XVI realized so imperfectly the importance of the step he was taking in summoning the States-General? Or how was it that a nation which for generations had been governed by a monarchy suddenly came to believe that this revived assembly would find a speedy redress for all the evils of society, and would do work which would surely mark the beginning of a Golden Age of happiness and prosperity?

To answer these questions we have a threefold task before us. We must learn how it was that discontent was rife in France in the eighteenth century, although the material prosperity of the nation was not declining, or even below the standards of surrounding countries; how this discontent was due to the fact that the ancient machinery of government was worn out, obsolete, and rusty, because it was a system which had grown up in an age and state of society fast passing away; how that many of the customs and laws maintained had lost all meaning, and were simply symbols of a form of civilization which no longer existed except in the

memories and chronicles of mankind. Then we must go on to examine the character of Louis XVI, realizing how unfortunate it was for France that chance should have given her a King devoid both of ability and energy, at a time when energy and ability were above all needed. Lastly, we must learn that during the last hundred years, popular thinkers and writers had been advocating changes. Their teaching was caught up by the people, and sometimes rightly understood, but often extravagantly interpreted to mean that all old institutions and forms of religion were foolish, that what was food for one generation was poison for the next, and that those men who really loved humanity, justice, righteous dealing and purity were the humble folk of the cottage and the workshop and not the upper classes.

Although these ' philosophers ' helped to bring about a great *débâcle*, we must not pass over their writings, content to condemn them on the evidence of second-hand opinions of their work. The best of them were often misinterpreted ; and in any case, the worst were men who had thought strenuously about the heavy chains which man forges for himself when he builds up and fortifies customs and habits. The philosophers realized the pitch of blind idolatry which many of their own generation had conceived for the past, rightly thinking that such an attitude stultifies intellect and quenches initiative. At the same time some of them went further and taught, like Montesquieu, that in any study of old laws and customs we must seek the original reasons of these laws and customs. For we do not grow great by ignoring the past ; there is a mean between fatuously laughing at our ancestors, and blindly worshipping their habits and customs. Only by using

the past as stepping-stones, profiting by the mistakes made by our forefathers, and thankfully making use of their wisdom, can advance be made for the human race by the living generation.

Unfortunately, this was not the conclusion drawn in their day from the teaching of the 'philosophers' of the French Revolution. We shall soon find out that the main idea of the nation at large was to break up and cast out all inherited traditions, irrespective of whether they were good, bad, or indifferent.

Some of the real grievances against the Government of France arose from the fact that its transaction of business was dilatory, secretive and arbitrary. For the ordinary man it was wellnigh impossible to get a hearing for his complaints, still less a remedy. This arose from the fact that Louis XVI was a despot over a highly centralized kingdom. No business was completely delegated, consequently heavy arrears always faced the King and his Council. Delay was all the more irritating because the government was carried on with great secrecy. There were no lawful means by which men could learn what was going on; they could, at best, hazard guesses. Nor was there any method of bringing pressure to bear upon the Crown, for the King was all-powerful. He could quash any sentence of the Parlements; he could, by the use of *lettres-de-cachet*, imprison whom he would, with no information either as to the cause or the place of internment. Although, at the time of the Revolution, little use was made of these lettres-de-cachet, this fact was not generally believed. In short, the doings of the King were shrouded in mystery; he was regarded not as the fountain of justice but with awe, and apparently there was no

method either of coercing the Government or of quickening its movements.

The Royal Council, which assisted the King in the task of government, consisted of about forty members. Chief in importance among them was the Controller-General of the Finances. Business of all sorts, and of varying degrees of importance or unimportance, came before this body, from the repair of a village lamp to details of foreign policy. Hardly is it to be wondered at that the smaller details of domestic policy fell hopelessly into arrears, that the little districts to which the lamp was of all-absorbing importance became irritated. Local administration was conducted by *Intendants* or agents of the Crown, who looked after every sort of business, including the collection of direct taxes by officials known as *Généraux de finances*. Local self-government had really died out in France. Only five of the provinces now had their Estates or Parlements, retaining only a small semblance of power, viz. : Artois, Flanders, Burgundy, Brittany and Languedoc. The *Intendants* cannot be entirely blamed. They were, in many cases, hard-working, honest men, with too much work on their hands. Thus, inefficiency was the rule in provincial as well as central affairs ; worst of all, individual initiative was discouraged, and redress of grievances through any lawful channel seemed an impossibility.

Not only were justice and administration arbitrary and tardy, but taxation was unjustly imposed and collected in France. There were at this time two privileged orders, the *noblesse* and the *clergy*. The nobles were that class of men who roughly corresponded to the nobility and landed gentry in England. Both the clergy and

the nobility were exempted from the payment of the *taille*, the chief of the direct taxes. Unjust as this distinction rightly appeared in practice, the distinction was not as gross as it seemed in reality, though none the less it caused offence. Many of the nobility were very poor, their incomes being derived from the erratic and unstable source of feudal dues. Their class, too, was hedged about with all manner of ancient prejudices which prevented them from adding to their wealth. For instance, the idea of a noble trading or farming his land himself was unthinkable. This fact made the noblesse disliked by the townspeople, who thought, and rightly, that the noblesse looked down upon them. The nobility were thus between two fires, for they were also unpopular with the lower classes, because a large part of their incomes depended upon feudal dues and services which they exacted from the peasants as part of their rent. Privileges of hunting, for instance, were denied to the peasants and claimed by the noblesse, who rode across their crops when and how they pleased.

The clergy, the other privileged class, were on the whole not nearly as unpopular as these nobles or *seigneurs*. The higher clergy were, it is true, with few exceptions, rich and worthless and heartily disliked; but the parish priests, men who had risen from the labouring classes, unable more often than not to reach any standard of culture, were, nevertheless, generally respected and beloved by the peasants. Though the taille did not touch them, the charge of wealth could not be brought against them. It has been estimated that the average income of the village curé was something about £40 a year.

The men who, having the fewest grievances, in reality

as leaders stirred up and maintained the Revolution, were those of the town-class, the *bourgeoisie*, or middle-class. There was in France, at this date, no agricultural middle class, such as the yeoman farmer of England. The bourgeoisie, who lived in towns, had many advantages and were often able to obtain a cheap and good education. It was this class that furnished the men for most of the well-paid jobs under the Government; from their numbers were drawn the lawyers, the judges, the civil servants, and the contractors, and the men to whom the Crown taxes were farmed out. Yet withal it was the bourgeoisie who were discontented, for many reasons. They had studied the writings of the 'philosophers' of the French Revolution; they wanted a share in local politics; they resented the social pretensions of the nobles; they wished to be allowed to hold high positions in the Army, the Navy and the diplomatic service, which tradition and custom reserved for the noblesse.

Yet another cause must be sought for the French Revolution, besides the slow incompetence of the Government, the injustice of the taille, and the murmurings of the townspeople. When reading the story of the Revolution it must be remembered that over four-fifths of the nation were peasant farmers, and that when at last the nation rose in revolt it was the farmers who rose. The wretchedness of their plight was the factor which told in the end. Their condition varied in various parts of the country: here it was better, there it was worse; yet when all allowances have been made, judged by present-day standards, without doubt the average French peasant was wretchedly poor and uncivilized and had much of

which to complain; and this statement is true even if we remember that many of the descriptions of their miseries are drawn from the reports which were made for the tax-farmers who collected the taille. It was in the interests of each peasant to appear to them as wretched as possible, and thus to come off with a low assessment. When all is said, the peasant doubtless laboured under many real difficulties, which a wise Government could have altered. It was necessary for him to work very hard, harder than is the lot of most peasant proprietors. If he wished to sell or exchange his produce, communication with markets was often difficult or impossible; the main-roads were perhaps excellent, but on them progress was baulked at every turn by toll-gates, and from these there was no escaping as the by-roads were often execrable and unpassable. Then, again, the peasant was harassed, not only with heavy and unfair taxation, but with taxation which was collected in a wasteful and provoking manner by men to whom the taxes had been farmed out. Again, as few of the peasants were freehold proprietors, they chiefly held their land by a form of copyhold; thus, they were liable to their landlords for a number of tiresome services, such as the *corvée*, or the right on the part of the seigneur to demand unpaid labour; and the *banalités*, that is, the obligation of the peasant to take his grapes to the seigneur's wine-press, his flour to his seigneur's mill, and so forth. Also taxes and payments varied from district to district; thus a constant sense of injustice was engendered.

In order that the harassing position of the French peasant may be even more clearly understood, it will be useful here to detail the chief taxes which were

levied by the Government, and which augmented the heavy burden of the peasant. The direct taxes were the *Taille*, *Capitation* and the *Vingtièmes*. Of these the taille was the largest. Originally, it was a tax paid in lieu of military service, which explains why the clergy and the noblesse were exempted from payment. The clergy were forbidden to fight, and the nobility were expected to do so. The capitation was a hearth tax and a poll tax combined, and to this there were supposed to be no exemptions. The vingtièmes were taxes which were supposed to fall proportionally on all revenues, but the greater share of the tax fell on land.

The chief of the indirect taxes were the *Gabelle*, *Aides*, *Traites*, *Octroi*, and *Tabac*. The gabelle was a salt tax; every individual over eight years of age was supposed to consume a certain amount of salt, and was assessed on this basis. Aides, or excise duties, were levied on all fermented liquors, gold and silver work, iron and starch. Traites or customs were exacted between the three custom-house divisions of France. The *octroi* was the local toll. The tax tabac explains itself.

When to all these burdens were added ecclesiastical tithes, it is easy to see that for the peasant himself there was little left by the time he had paid up his government dues; furthermore, the more he improved his land, the more likely was his taxation to be increased. He was, indeed, caught in a vicious circle.

Such, then, were the obsolete customs and laws which prevented any real progress in agriculture; and such were the prejudices and class-distinctions which made French life disagreeable in the eighteenth century.

All were relics of old feudal times; and the new desire for freedom and unconventionality which was growing up in the nation made these chains seem every day more galling.

It was unfortunate for France that Louis XVI was not a man likely to remedy any of these evils. Even if he had realized their existence, it is doubtful if he had the sense to estimate their importance. When he inherited the throne of France in 1774, as a young man of twenty, he had neither the character nor the ability to deal with the task which confronted him, and he did not improve as time went on. Though the country was in many ways materially prosperous, every year it became more apparent that the funds available for carrying on the government were becoming less and less adequate. What had been ample for mediaeval times could not suffice for the increasing expenses of a modern government. Had the money which was nominally collected under the name of taxation come into the King's exchequer all might have been well. But, as we have seen, the taxes were farmed out, much more being collected than ever reached the King. We have already seen how complicated, how irritating and how manifold were the forms of taxation under which the nation groaned. They could certainly not be increased, for the percentage which was taken from the average peasant was far more than half his earnings. The crying necessity for France at this time was a thorough revision of her system of taxation. Insistence upon a simplified form of collection, the removal of some of the more odious taxes, such as the gabelle, the abolition of privileges and exemptions, would have altered the whole situation. Louis XVI could not face

the stern problems which this change would have presented; he had not the moral courage to weather the temporary storm which any attack upon *privilege* would inevitably mean, even had he been able to appreciate the gravity of the situation. Good-natured enough, he was lazy and unwilling to bestir himself to take any interest in serious business. Had he done so, it is doubtful if he had the brains, for he was without any serious intellectual interest, although he was fond of dabbling in history and geography and of busying himself with small mechanical devices. Added to this mental laziness, he had no will of his own, nor had he any of those personal or mental attractions which sometimes inspire devotion and compensate for the lack of sterner qualities. In person, he was nothing more than a large, heavy-looking man, prone to fall asleep owing to his addiction to outdoor exercise at all times and seasons.

His Queen, Marie Antoinette, unfortunately, was not a woman who might have been able to help him. To begin with, as the daughter of the Emperor Francis I of Austria, she was nearly always unpopular with the French people. Then again, she had few opportunities of education, for she had married Louis in 1770, at the early age of 14, coming to a stupid and unintellectual Court as a mere child. Youth, as was natural, at first cast a halo of charm around her. Carlyle paints her in these words: 'The fair young Queen, in her halls of State, walks like a goddess of Beauty, the cynosure of all eyes: as yet mingles not with affairs: heeds not the future; least of all dreads it . . . there within the royal tapestries, in bright boudoirs, baths, peignoirs and the Grand and Little Toilette: with a whole

brilliant world waiting obsequious on her glance: fair young daughter of Time. What things has Time in store for thee! Like Earth's brightest appearance, she moves gracefully, environed with the grandeur of Earth; a reality, and yet a magic vision: for, behold, shall not utter Darkness swallow it! The soft young heart adopts orphans, portions meritorious maids, delights to succour the poor—such poor as come picturesquely on her way, and sets the fashion of doing it: for, as was said, Benevolence has now begun reigning.' Yet this glamour soon passed away. Marie Antoinette grew up ill-educated and unaccomplished, unfortunately obtaining considerable influence over her husband whom she more or less despised. The personal element always weighed with her. She had strong likes and dislikes, and her lack of education prevented her from putting aside personal prejudices and from looking at affairs from a statesmanlike point of view, or even from the point of view of France and not of Austria. Thus, any advice which she gave her husband was quite likely to be unsound and equally likely to be accepted. The fact that both the King and Queen met with tragic ends has added a certain charm to their characters and hidden their worthless natures, for without doubt the chance that Louis XVI with Marie Antoinette his Queen reigned over France in the eighteenth century was a great misfortune for that country.

It must be clearly understood, however, that Louis XVI was not really worse than scores of other kings. For fifteen years previous to the great year 1789, he had blundered on with his task of government, and during this time France was, on the whole, materially prosperous; in proof, we have the fact that travellers

commented admiringly on the improved condition of the peasantry. Many wise steps were taken in various directions; thus, the military and naval departments were successfully re-organized, sensible commercial treaties were arranged, and a successful war was carried on against England, France openly joining in 1778 with the American colonists in the War of Independence. During this time Louis had the wit to choose able men to serve him. He had Vergennes, Turgot, Saint-Germain, Sartine, Necker, and Calonne, the names of whom are all famous for one reason or another. Turgot, above all, realized the supreme fact, the key to the whole question of the safety of the monarchy and the nation, viz. that without fiscal reform all successes profited little to France. He knew that the prevailing system was unsatisfactory, complicated, unjust and vexatious, and he estimated its results. He wanted to bring about a slow and steady reform, which would not involve a complete social upheaval. Along with this he wished to develop local self-government, and in that way to make articulate the bulk of the French people. Turgot was Controller-General from 1774–6. However, during that time he made himself disliked by all those who feared their interests would be endangered by reform. Louis yielded to their clamour and Turgot was dismissed. With him went the last chance of peaceful reform. Louis himself preferred to live by a hand-to-mouth policy, and to let sleeping dogs lie. Suggestions for reform were, indeed, made to him by other ministers, but with no effect; and after Turgot had failed, there was small chance that any one else would succeed; the hour of salvation had passed.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the summons issued to the States-General, thirteen years after the fall of Turgot, was but another instance of Louis' opportunist method of dealing with affairs. How it came to pass that he was driven to take this step which proved so decisive needs some little explanation.

In those days, it was the custom for the laws and edicts of the King to be registered by the Parlement of Paris, that is, the Central Law Court. There were thirteen Parlements in France at this date: one in Paris, and twelve provincial courts which were, in reality, delegated commissions of the Central Court. Gradually, however, the Parlement of Paris had claimed to be more than a court of justice; it claimed the right of criticizing or even refusing to register a new law. When Parlement refused to register a law, the King could hold a *lit de justice*, that is, a formal session at which he appeared in person and ordered registration. For some time Parlement had been continually bickering over all Louis' new expedients to raise money, and even refusing to recognize his lit de justice, this because they believed their personal privileges of exemption would sooner or later be attacked if they gave way. The King and Necker, the Controller-General in 1789, had the financial crisis alone in their minds when the momentous decision was made. They made no preparations to guide the new forces they were conjuring up, when they determined to consult the French people. What they wanted was a make-weight against the Parlement.

The States-General of France was the common name for the representative and separate assemblies of the three Estates, or classes of people in the country, viz. the nobles, the clergy, and the Third Estate or Commons

It roughly corresponded to our Parliament, in that it represented the nation: but, unlike our Parliament, however, it was seldom summoned. Again, the members came as petitioners to the King, and not as advisers, in this respect, again differing from the English Parliament of the period.

When the news spread that the States-General were again to meet, the excitement throughout France was intense. The country was flooded with political pamphlets, and nearly 40,000 meetings were held up and down the country. There, too, was great ferment and discussion over the *cahiers*, or documents drawn up by the parishes stating their grievances; all these cahiers were sifted and incorporated in one large document for each district which a deputy represented. The reports given by the cahiers of 1789 have sometimes been taken as giving a true picture of the miserable state of the country at that time. But it is now recognized that they were in many cases dictated to the peasants by the local lord, the curé, the lawyer, or by agitators who came down from Paris. This latter fact especially, must not be forgotten. The lower classes had grievances, but they were egged on to revolt by the middle classes and the politicians of Paris.

There was also much dispute and anxiety about long-forgotten forms and methods of election, and argument as to the relative amount of influence which the three Estates must severally have in the future. Events soon showed which way the wind was blowing. The King, by a Royal Decree, had granted double representation to the Third Estate, and there were many powerful advocates like the Abbé Sieyès, after-

wards a deputy in the Third Estate, who were convinced that the three assemblies should meet and vote together, thus hoping that the wishes of the Third Estate would triumph. Sieyès summed up the situation in the opening words of his pamphlet, 'Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?' It began thus: 'What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing. What does it ask? To be something.' This was typical of the popular mood. It put forward simply the prevalent theory that the will of the people was the true source of sovereign power, and that it was especially among the people those were to be found who would work for true ideals.

We now come to the third part of our task, viz. the examination of the sources of those opinions which were so widespread in France at this time. They chiefly emanated from Paris, and were the opinions of a great body of writers who lived in the eighteenth century.

These opinions are important not because they were the cause of the French Revolution, but because they served as battle-cries for those who were fighting, and endeavouring to stir up others to fight for a constitution, and for social and fiscal reforms. The writers who spread these opinions are often referred to as the 'philosophers' of the French Revolution. The chief names among their ranks are Fénelon (1651–1715), Archbishop of Cambrai, Montesquieu (1689–1755), Voltaire (1694–1778), Rousseau (1712–78), and the writers in the *Encyclopedia* (1751–72). Fénelon had pointed out early in the century, that something must be wrong with the institutions of a country where

there was so much poverty. Montesquieu taught reaction against, and discontent with, existing institutions. He inveighed against both the accepted forms of religion and government. In his *Persian Letters* he taught that 'the Pope is an old idol worshipped from habit', and in *The Spirit of the Laws* he taught that reason should govern the laws of mankind—that no form of government is absolutely the best: that that constitution is best for a nation which suits it best. Voltaire, a master of expression, had few original thoughts, but he voiced the feelings and half-uttered opinions of the ordinary man in epigrammatic language which all could understand. He pointed the finger of scorn at all existing institutions, although he was cynically willing to conform to everything, both in Church and State. His two important books from this point of view were *Letters on the English*, and *Idées Républicaines*. In the former, he expressed his admiration for English institutions and his contempt of French. In the latter work, he taught no political theory, but he upheld the view that all satisfactory government must be by the people, not because he admired them. He wished them to be happy, because he was humane and good-natured, but all the same he called them 'vile canaille'. He advocated toleration, common-sense in punishment, the abolition of torture and of fiscal privileges and the vexatious system of tolls and taxes.

Of all these writers, however, the most influential was Rousseau. In his works, *The Origin of Inequality* and *The Social Contract*, he taught that all men are equal, that man has only been made bad by the badness of institutions. Thus, he flattered the people and became

the most quoted of all the revolutionary teachers. Lastly, the writers in the *Encyclopedia*, edited by D'Alembert and Diderot, inculcated in their readers a profound distrust for all existing institutions and systems of theology.

The ideas of these men, either in their original form or in various distorted forms, were uppermost in men's minds at this time. Their force was accentuated by the success of the American revolutionists in their bid for freedom, and by the misery and scarcity which a bad harvest and bad weather had brought in 1788–9. The idea that existing institutions stood between the people and a Golden Age, and that, therefore, customs and laws should be rooted out or pulled down, was the crude political programme of the bulk of the nation.

This, then, was the state of affairs which men hoped would be remedied by the States-General; they had, as we have seen, no very definite ideas of how they wanted the State reformed. They were not, as Carlyle would have it, filled with ideas about democratic government or socialistic schemes. They realized and took a share in the general sense of unrest in France; they desired that national burdens should be more evenly distributed: at the best, they joined in the rising sense of humane feeling, and in the general sense of disappointment that the monarchy to which men had looked so long for redress, had been tried and found wanting.

Thus, then, the deputies of the States-General met, with little practice in the art of government, but with great hopes that under some brand new system a Golden Age would be ushered in. Their deliberations

broke up all the old mediaeval organization of French society—on its ruins a new France was to be built. All these reasons justify the choice of May 4 as the date which marks the beginning of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER II

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

'Consider that they are Twelve Hundred; that they not only speak, but *read* their speeches; and even borrow and steal speeches to read! With Twelve Hundred fluent Speakers and their Noah's deluge of vociferous commonplace, silence unattainable may well seem the one blessing of life!'—CARLYLE, vol. i, Bk. VI, Chap. i, p. 274.

THE deputies, having been called together in the States-General, met without any clear-cut ideas as to what they were to do, or which of them were most suited for leadership. Time alone could mark the commanding personalities; but one point for discussion quickly emerged. Were the three houses to transact business separately as of old, or were they to unite? If they united, it meant that, voting *par tête*, the Third Estate were in the majority, because the numbers of the deputies ran as follows: 285 represented the nobles, 308 the clergy, and 621 the Third Estate. The Third Estate were strongly in favour of this course; the nobles and clergy were equally strongly against it, though the curés, or parish priests, wavered from time to time. After six long weeks of wrangling and discussion, the Third Estate, growing more and more in opposition to the King, took the bull by the horns, and on June 17 declared that they were the National Assembly, to which the nobles and clergy might join themselves if they cared. Not only by this action did the Third Estate affirm the doctrine of their complete sovereignty as representatives of the people, but they even went

further and declared that they were no longer bound in their opinions by the cahiers. All remonstrances of the King were in vain, and for this he himself was partly to blame.

Ever since the first meeting of the States-General, the Third Estate had been made to feel, by the attitude of the Court, that they were inferior to the nobles and clergy. They had put up with slights small and great, some intentional, and some due only to stupid oversight. Unfortunately, the deputies were keenly on the look-out for causes of offence. The gravest instance of this was when, three days after they had declared themselves a National Assembly, they were unfortunately shut out of their usual meeting-place, the *Salle de Menus-Plaisirs* in the Palace. It so happened that the hall had been placed in the hands of carpenters, in order that it might be prepared for the Royal Séance, i. e. the meeting between the King and the deputies, to discuss the question of keeping the Estates separate. The simple courtesy of informing Bailly, the President of the Third Estate, was for some reason omitted. The disgusted deputies looked upon this as a foolish trick to prevent them holding their meeting. After standing about in angry, gesticulating groups, they trooped off in the drizzling rain to a neighbouring tennis-court. Here they took an oath—the famous *Oath of the Tennis-Court*—never to separate until they had given France a constitution.

Carlyle's description of the episode is famous. He writes :—

'Strange sight was this in the Rue St. François, Vieux Versailles! A naked Tennis-Court, as the Pictures of that time still give it: four walls; naked,

except aloft some poor wooden penthouse, or roofed spectators' gallery, hanging round them; on the floor not now an idle tee teeing, a snapping of balls and rackets; but the bellowing din of an indignant National Representation, scandalously exiled hither! However, a cloud of witnesses looks down on them, from wooden penthouse, from wall-top, from adjoining roof and chimney, rolls towards them from all quarters, with passionate spoken blessings. Some table can be procured to write on; some chair, if not to sit on, then to stand on. The Secretaries undo their tapes: Bailly has constituted the Assembly.

'Experienced Mounier, not wholly new to such things, in Parlementary revolts, which seen or heard of, thinks that it were well, in these lamentable threatening circumstances, to unite themselves by an Oath —Universal acclamation, as from smouldering bosoms getting vent! The Oath is redacted; pronounced aloud by President Bailly, and indeed in such a sonorous tone, that the cloud of witnesses, even out doors, hear it, and bellow response to it. Six hundred right hands rise, with President Bailly's, to take God above to witness that they will not separate for man below, but will meet in all places, under all circumstances, wheresoever they can get together, till they have made the Constitution.'

Thus, the Assembly took upon itself the task of framing a Constitution for France, and hence its name Constituent Assembly. This was a task the difficulties of which they did not see, and one which was not completed until two years later. At the time, it was said that every man in the Assembly believed he could have made it himself single-handed in a few weeks. Such was their ignorance of the difficulties which beset all statesmen.

In spite of this oath, as the King refused to acknow-

ledge the claims of the National Assembly, he met the deputies on June 23, in that same Salle de Menus-Plaisirs, the preparation of which had been the cause of so much disturbance. He himself was tactlessly hedged about with bayonets, though he offered them concessions which really amounted to a Charter of Liberties. A few months earlier such a statement would have been accepted with acclamation; now it was heard in sullen silence. When the King at last withdrew, the bulk of the deputies remained behind to discuss the situation. Then, being given a strong hint by the Master of the Ceremonies that they had better depart, Mirabeau, who was now the outstanding personality of the Assembly, rose and said defiantly: 'If you have been charged to make us quit this place, you must ask for orders to use force; for we will not stir from our places save at the point of the bayonet'. Needless to say, in face of a spirit like this, the King had at last to give way; the Third Estate had their first triumph, and the nobles and clergy were persuaded to join the National Assembly.

A few words must here be said of this extraordinary man, Honoré-Gabriel, Comte de Mirabeau. Born in 1749, he was the son of that old Marquis de Mirabeau, who was famous as one of the first of the old school of French political economists. Honoré, his son, was his puzzle and his despair. Though a man of great ability, his life was the life of a rascally scoundrel. He was four times imprisoned; he thieved, he lied, and he ran away with another man's wife. He was dishonest in every sense of the word, and yet he was a man whose gifts could charm and fascinate both men and women. He had great experience, for he had lived in Switzerland

and England as an exile; he had travelled to the Prussian Court on a diplomatic errand. More far-sighted than any man of his generation, he saw what a revolution was coming upon France; and in the last few years of his life, in spite of his worthless past, he developed into a man of power. Carlyle revered Mirabeau for his insight, in spite of all his glaring faults. To him, Mirabeau is 'only a man of instincts and insights. A man, nevertheless, who will glare fiercely on any object; and see through it, and conquer it: for he has intellect, he has will force beyond other men'. Mirabeau was unattractive in appearance, awkward in his manners, dirty as to his clothes and person. Carlyle thinks even this is symbolic of his rough ability. 'In fiery rough figure, with black Samson locks under the slouch hat, he steps along there—a fiery fuliginous mass, which could not be choked and smothered, but would fill all France with smoke. And now it has got *air*, it will burn its whole substance, its whole smoke.'

This Mirabeau, 'the greatest' of all the deputies, had been refused by the nobility of his native town, Aix, as their candidate for the States-General; but he was chosen instead as deputy for the Third Estate.

Mirabeau had watched the revolutionary tides rising in France, and saw that unless they were skilfully managed, they would sweep onwards, too powerful to be baulked, and eventually reduce France to chaos. To curb this, he would have liked to see some form of democratic government, working in harmony with the King. Thus, from the first he supported the Crown. Yet, from time to time, he did things which were so inconsistent that they can only be explained as 'an eclipse of moral sense'. He did not agree with many

of the aims of the Assembly, and it was his fate to be distrusted both by them and by the Court. Two notable instances illustrate this attitude of the Assembly. In the autumn of 1789, when the question of choosing the executive was under debate, Montesquieu wisely protested against the determination of the Assembly to keep the executive and the legislature distinct. The Assembly were all for following Montesquieu's advice, i. e. to maintain a division between the executive, the legislature and the judicature. When Mirabeau suggested the practice of choosing Ministers from the Assembly, a rumour gained ground that he himself was to form one of a new Ministry: not only was the practice condemned, but a motion was passed forbidding any deputy to take office. Mirabeau, rising to his feet, scornfully suggested that they should add the words 'No deputy called Mirabeau'. And these words in fact summed up the situation.

On another occasion, Mirabeau claimed for the King an absolute veto on bills of the legislature. But he was unable to gain his end; the King was only allowed a 'suspensive' veto, that is, a veto which would last for the period of two legislatures; in other words, for four years. Mirabeau also made himself unpopular with the Assembly by advocating that 'the right of declaring war' should be left to the King and his Ministers. He pointed out that an Assembly might much more easily be swayed to war than the King and his Ministers. His reward was to hear pamphlets entitled 'Grand Treason of Count Mirabeau' hawked in the streets of Paris.

With all Mirabeau's faults he had a sublime confidence in himself. Like the elder Pitt, he felt that he and he

alone could save the nation. Twice he approached the Court and offered his services, but he was mistrusted as a self-seeker; 'he desired to control the destinies of France and to be well paid either as a minister or a pensioner for so doing'. Thus, when Louis XVI was nearing his tragic end, Mirabeau offered him sound advice, which might have saved the situation. Louis has been blamed for not attempting to take it; but he was hardly likely to do so when the man who gave it was allowing himself to be elected President of the Jacobin Club, the most revolutionary society in Paris, and urging and voting for the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (see p. 38), a step which to Louis XVI was not only blasphemous, but imperilled the immortal souls of all his subjects.

Mirabeau was full of force, talent and insight. He was a great man but at the same time an enigma. It is hard to get away from the dictum which sums him up as 'beyond all controversy one of the most unprincipled scoundrels that ever lived'. However, this is not the view of Carlyle, who apparently thought that when Mirabeau died, there had passed away one of the lights that lighten the darkness of mankind's folly and ignorance. He died in 1791, saying, 'I carry with me the ruin of the Monarchy. After my death faction will dispute about its fragments!'

Whilst the National Assembly was disputing over the form of the Constitution, the hold of the Government on the people at large was weakening. No one knew to whom to look for authority. Laws were broken with impunity; from all parts of the country news came pouring in of disturbances and riots, a sufficient proof that authority was powerless. Paris itself soon became a conspicuous centre of disturbance, for the

more peaceful citizens were domineered over by a large and unruly mob. The winter of 1788–9 had been one of distress, and large crowds of the worst type had flocked to Paris to benefit by the relief works which had been set up there. The first serious disturbance took place shortly after the Séance Royale of June 23. The King had called in troops for his defence, and had dismissed his minister Necker. On these counts the mob were stirred up by a French lawyer and mob-orator, Camille Desmoulins. They were joined, too, by deserters from a disaffected regiment, the Gardes Françaises.

The whole city was in an uproar. The soldiers, when called upon to put down the riots, simply fraternized with the people. The climax came on July 14, when the mob first attacked the *Hôtel des Invalides*, a hospital for wounded pensioners, a place without any defence, but in which were stored quantities of arms and ammunition. Arming themselves, the mob then went on to the *Bastille*, an ill-defended fortress which served as a prison-house. At the moment, the prisoners in it were well under a dozen; the garrison was small, and defence was impossible, yet its speedy capture fired the imagination of the country and of Europe. The more advanced friends of democracy hailed its downfall as a splendid triumph over the decaying forces of the *ancien régime*.

After this incident, in order to ensure the safety of the city, a civic guard, the National Guard, was formed. Its enrolment had actually been under discussion at the time of the downfall of the Bastille. At its head was placed Lafayette, who had fought in the American Revolution and was a prominent member

of the National Assembly. A true patriot, he was however hated by Mirabeau, and painted unkindly by Carlyle, who could not forgive him his vanity.

The next incident in which the mob of Paris took a prominent part was on October 5 and 6 in the same year. The autumn was a time of great want all over France as well as in the city and the Court was growing more and more unpopular because of its alleged extravagance. When it became known that a public banquet had been given to some of the King's foreign soldiers, at Versailles, and that the King and the Queen had appeared at it, indignation foamed up. It was reported that the tricolour, the newly-adopted colours (blue and red the colours of Paris, and white the colour of France), had been treated with contumely. All this was taken to imply the existence of a plot against the National Assembly.

On October 5 an infuriated mob, mostly women, 'so many Judiths, from eight to ten thousand of them in all, rushing out to search into the root of the matter', came to Versailles. They penetrated even into the royal apartments, shouting that they were hungry, and at last the King and the Royal Family were obliged to go back under their escort to Paris, henceforward to live in the Tuileries. The National Assembly forsook its quarters at Versailles, and in future met in the *Manège*, or riding-school. Lafayette has been accused, probably unjustly, of not doing his best to quell this riot. He had followed the women to Versailles with soldiers, and in the evening, having taken what he considered to be proper precautions for the safety of the palace, went to bed. Meanwhile, as we know, the mob found an open door, and surged into the palace.

These events, however, did not deter the National Assembly from discussing and arguing over the new Constitution. One of the most memorable nights of debate was that of August 4, 1789. On that night, moved by a sudden and almost hysterical sympathy with the people, the Assembly began abolishing all the old feudal burdens. One deputy after another arose proposing that this or that privilege of the nobles and clergy should be done away with, and this without any consideration of compensation to those concerned, many of whom were thus reduced to beggary by one night's work. Mirabeau's comment was the caustic remark: 'Just like our Frenchmen; they are an entire month wrangling over syllables, and in a night they overturn the whole of the ancient order of the kingdom.'

The work of August 4 was followed on the 27th of the same month by the *Declaration of the Rights of Man*; this was modelled on the declaration which was made in the American Constitution, and it must be included in any summary of the French Constitution. By it the liberty of the subject, of speech and of the press were guaranteed. There was to be equality in taxation: rights of property were to be respected. Government, it stated, is based on the popular will; all have a right to share in the legislative and executive functions of government.

The new Constitution provided for government by one Chamber, which was to consist of 745 deputies, elected from the departments and allotted on the threefold basis of size, population, wealth. The legislature controlled not only the laws, but the executive; the King's veto was 'suspensive', but not absolute.

The whole system of local government was also re-

organized. The Assembly made a clean sweep of the old provinces, fearing that local patriotism might interfere with the larger national patriotism which they were anxious to cultivate. In their place eighty-three departments were created; these were all subdivided, first into districts, and then into cantons. In order to 'smite the feudal tree even to the roots, the very names of the provinces were altered'. 'It sought the names of the new departments in the seas which washed them, the rivers which drained them, and the mountains which traversed them.'

The right to vote was conferred on all active citizens. An active citizen was defined as a citizen who paid a direct tax to the value of at least three days' labour, whose name was inscribed on the roll of the National Guards, and who had taken the civic oath. Other citizens were classified as passive, and were not allowed to vote. The voting was, however, not direct. The citizens voted for *secondary* electors who eventually chose the deputies. Any man could be chosen as deputy who paid taxes to the value of one *marc d'argent*, and who possessed some landed property.

The system of the law courts was also overhauled, and the changes here made were not as far-reaching as the administrative changes; yet because the provinces were swept away old customs and privileges also suffered, and it was hard to say exactly what laws were being administered for some years to come.

All judges were made elective; they were to be chosen by the secondary electors. Office was tenable for six years, after which a judge might be re-elected. In criminal cases, use was to be made of the jury; in civil cases, juries were rejected.

If we begin at the bottom of the tree, the arrangement of law courts was as follows: in every canton there was to be a Court under a *Juge de paix* and *two prudhommes*, which dealt with minor local disputes. In each district, there was an appeal to a *Civil Tribunal* of five judges; and in commercial centres there were *Tribunaux de Commerce*, which had the final decision in commercial cases of a minor character. Over all was the *Cour de Cassation*, which could annul decisions of the other courts, on account of bad law or errors in procedure. In addition, in every department there was a Criminal Tribunal, and on May 15, 1791, a High Court was established at Orleans for the purpose of trying persons accused of treason.

Naturally, these sudden upheavals in the Government caused great confusion, and they brought with them increased financial distress. In its plight the Government looked to the Church to provide a remedy for this state of affairs with her great riches. Thus on November 2, 1789, the Assembly passed a decree appropriating the finances of the Church, and assuming the support of the clergy. On December 21 of the same year, *Assignats* or notes were issued on the security of the Church property. A committee was then appointed to consider *the Civil Constitution of the Clergy*. This received the royal assent in August 1790. Louis never forgave himself for signing this; he tormented himself to the end with the idea that in so doing, he had committed an unpardonable sin.

The Civil Constitution of the clergy was far-reaching in its effects. All the ancient dioceses were to be abolished; the bishoprics were reduced to fifty; bishops were to be elected by the electors of the department,

and the curé by the administrative body of the district; the stipends of the clergy were to be fixed; clergy were to live in their cures; bishops were to be guided by councils of vicars, and all relations with the Papacy were to be regulated by law. Thus, the Church was to be a highly organized department of the Government, just like any branch of the Civil Service. This arrangement shocked the consciences of a great number of Frenchmen, who thought that any connivance at the election of bishops and parish priests by laymen would involve them in schism. The clergy were also to take a civil oath. As a large number of them refused, henceforward the clergy were divided into two camps.

Louis now began to try to leave Paris, as he detested being under the surveillance of the Assembly. The first attempt was at Easter, 1791; Louis did not wish to attend mass celebrated by one of the clergy who had accepted the Civil Constitution, but his wish was frustrated. Again, in June of the same year he hoped to cross the borders. He succeeded in escaping as far as Varennes, but he was recognized and brought back ignominiously.

In September, Louis accepted the revised and completed Constitution. Then at last the Constituent Assembly dissolved itself, after having voted that none of its members could be elected to the new Legislative body.

The Constitution, which was completed with so much work, was doomed to failure. Mirabeau had seen clearly one of its great weaknesses when he had protested against the exclusion of members of the executive from its number. Again, the Civil Constitution of the Church roused up many enemies in France; for those clergy who refused to take the oath were an influential

body, with no affection for revolutionary governments. The decree of the Constituent Assembly that none of their number should sit in the new Legislative Assembly was also a bad mistake; the experience of government which had been so bitterly won was wasted; and such experience was painfully lacking in the new Assembly. Lastly, Paris became more revolutionary: the mob was stirred up by the new Jacobin Club; other revolutionary societies became more and more unmanageable, and when a war with Prussia and Austria was brought about a climax was reached. We shall see in the next chapter how completely the Legislative Assembly working on the lines of the Constitution failed to give France the orderly government which was the ideal of the men of 1789.

CHAPTER III

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE CONVENTION

When the Constituent Assembly disbanded, it was generally hoped in France that, its work at last being finished, the long-looked-for era of peace and prosperity would begin, and that this would be secured by a new Assembly keeping the much desired Constitution working. But, alas for such aspirations, the life of the new Legislative Assembly was short and stormy. It met on October 1, 1791; it came to an end in September 1792. In less than a year France had been disabused of her hopes of the Golden Age. A great increase of misery and unrest had come upon the country, and there must have been few who were not filled with forebodings for the future.

Enthusiasm for the ideals of the Revolution had blinded the French people to facts which now seem to us glaringly obvious, and which from the first doomed the Legislative Assembly to failure. For instance, as we saw in the last chapter, all members of the Constituent Assembly were excluded. The deputies of the new Assembly were men who had all their experience to learn; the bitter wranglings and contentions of the National Assembly were certain to recur. Furthermore, not only was experience denied an entry but the way

was also barred to many men of honest convictions; for in order to qualify as a deputy it was necessary to take the civic oath, which, among other things, implied acquiescence in the Civil Constitution of the clergy. Now many orthodox Catholics were unwilling to take this oath; thus, this condition automatically eliminated those who were honest enough to stand by their convictions.

These two difficulties arose from bad legislation. There was another cause which made it also highly improbable that the Assembly would be moderate in tone, or that it would be one which would wish to abide by the changes which had already been made. The country had been energetically canvassed and cajoled by members of the Jacobin Clubs. The central and original Parisian club had succeeded in developing a far-reaching organization of similar societies, which had now spread like a spider's web all over the country, and in this way advanced revolutionary teaching was disseminated. As no other political party had then any organization, Jacobin influence on public opinion was unrestrained and often unchallenged.

It is interesting here to notice that the Jacobin Club, like many other political clubs before and since, was one which had gradually altered in character. It originated in 1789 in meetings of the Breton deputies, men of no particularly advanced views, who met to discuss passing political questions. At a time when a constitution seemed to be the one goal of all true patriotism, its members called themselves *Les Amis de la Constitution*. Later on, when the sessions of the club were held in the refectory of the convent of the Jacobin monks, the original name was dropped, and that of

Jacobin Club substituted. It is significant that whereas Lafayette, a monarchist, had been one of its first members, he left it when he saw it developing into the most revolutionary and anarchical society of the day.

Thus, the self-denying ordinance of the Constituent Assembly and the antagonism of orthodox Catholicism, together with the extremist propaganda of the Jacobin Club, had done much to determine beforehand the restless nature of the Legislative Assembly. From the outset it found itself divided into well-defined parties, for Jacobin influence did not succeed at first in completely dominating the Assembly, though in the long run it triumphed. The parties were the Right, the Left, and the Centre. These curious names, which are now used to distinguish shades of political opinion in all continental countries, had their origin in the National Assembly. As was natural, men of like opinions had gradually drifted together, chance leading the more conservative to the right of the President's chair, the more advanced to the left, leaving those who held moderate views in the centre. In these circumstances may be found the origin of those political names, which are still used to denote respectively the Conservative, the Liberal, and the Moderate parties in continental legislatures.

In the Legislative Assembly, the Right consisted chiefly of men who wished to uphold the Constitution; they were known as the Feuillants, having originally when they seceded from the Jacobin Club met as a society in the convent of the Feuillants. Now they wished to make only such minor alterations in the Constitution as might be necessary to ensure smooth working. This party turned out to have little influence, though at first the King chose his ministers from it,

for they had with them no leaders of ability, and Louis had no confidence in them, though they were his best friends. He considered them covert enemies, as the original authors of the Constitution. The names of his ministers are the names of nonentities until Narbonne was made Foreign Minister.

The Left consisted of two parties, the Jacobins and the Brissotins, or Girondists, as they were called in later days, earning this name because they came chiefly from the district of Bordeaux in the Gironde. Brissot, the deputy, who first gave his name to the party, seems to have been a man of no real value, but a mere wind-bag; yet somehow or other his frothy utterances impressed his contemporaries together with his supposed knowledge of foreign politics. His aims were, briefly, first and foremost to make a name for himself; and secondly, to overthrow the King. His leadership is all the more extraordinary because there were in the party men with far higher claims to distinction, viz. Guadet, a barrister, and Vergniaud, one of the finest orators of Revolutionary times.

The Girondists wished to set up a Republic; but their enemies said they wanted to establish federalism in France. Thus, they incurred the hatred of the municipality or commune of Paris, which looked upon the leadership and pre-eminence of the capital as one of the vital necessities of any right government of France. This jealousy of Paris is curious when we realize that members of the commune considered themselves prophets who were to teach the doctrine of equality between man and man. Their logic, apparently, did not lead them to believe in like equality between institutions.

A striking peculiarity of the Girondists was their

affection for the institutions of Greece and Rome. They made a cult of ancient history, and from its sources they drew their political inspiration. It was to them a fount of parallels and a hunting-ground for nicknames. The person who was most imbued with reverence for Greece and Rome and the soul of the whole party was a woman—Mme Roland. It is safe to say that she had more influence on this period of history than many of the chief men of the day. She was a person of extraordinary powers of fascination. Until recent years it was usual to find her described unreservedly as a lofty-minded patriot, who was filled with selfless devotion to the cause of France, and instilled with a pure patriotism drawn from the classics. Recent historical research, however, demonstrates that she was a woman of many unpleasant characteristics; more often than not, her conduct was prompted not by patriotism but by personal malice. Thus, in the first instance she was moved to conspire against Marie Antoinette, because she believed her to have thwarted her social ambitions. Later on, the object of her hatred was Danton; later still, Robespierre. And so, instead of depicting her as modelled on one of the old Greek and Roman heroines as she would have wished, a modern historian has summed her up as 'a horrid female'—and as 'a woman who had set her heart on the downfall of the throne; not from any political conviction, but from personal hatred of Marie Antoinette'. However, when all is said, Mme Roland with her unbounded energy and great gifts provided a large share of the driving power of the Girondists.

The Jacobins, as the Girondists, wished for a Republic, but not a Republic based upon federalism. Their

ablest men in the Assembly were Couthon, Thuriot, and Chabot. Those who controlled their policy were men outside the Assembly, members of the Jacobin Club, Danton, Robespierre, and Marat.

Danton is assuredly the most remarkable man of the revolutionary period, and Carlyle has justly on this score made him the hero of his great work. He was born in 1759, at Arcis-sur-Aube, springing, like many other prominent men of his time, from an insignificant middle-class stock. He was educated and trained for the profession of the law. His personal appearance was remarkable; he has been described thus: 'He was tall and stout, with the forward bearing of the orator, full of gesture and of animation. He carried a round French head upon the thick neck of energy. His face was generous, ugly, and determined. With wide eyes and calm brows, he yet had the quick glance which betrays the habit of appealing to an audience. His upper lip was injured, and so was his nose, and he had further been disfigured by the small-pox. His lip had been torn by a bull when he was a child, and his nose crushed in a second adventure, they say, with the same animal.' Added to this arresting appearance, he was a man who possessed great vigour, powers of close reasoning, and a wonderful voice. Danton made his first entrance into public life through Parisian municipal politics in 1790. Because he thought that the monarchy would bring ruin upon France, he was a great enemy of Lafayette. Thus, after the flight to Varennes, when Lafayette restored order in Paris, when the mob was clamouring for the deposition of the King, Danton, whose arrest had been ordered, fled to England, and there he remained until the Con-

stitution was accepted, and a general amnesty was granted for all revolutionary acts. Danton, indeed, failed to obtain a seat in the Legislative Assembly, but he found scope for his energies in the Commune of Paris. In it he held high office, being second *Procureur substitut*; he was also a prominent member of the Jacobin Club. In this position he learnt to sway the mob of Paris, and by this indirect means he was able to bring pressure to bear upon the Legislative Assembly, and make himself a power in the State.

At first the Brissotins and the Jacobins acted more or less together, but as time went on they found cause for antagonism. The Brissotins wished for a European war, because they believed it would inevitably mean the downfall of the monarchy. The Jacobins, on the other hand, were against war because they believed that it would make a dictatorship a necessity, and by this means the prestige of the monarchy would be revived. Pre-eminently Danton was convinced that under the circumstances war would be disastrous for France; he therefore used all his powers to prevent it coming about. In all his conduct he set the safety of France as his ultimate aim; henceforth this was his guiding principle. To attain it he was uncompromising, and he faltered at no steps which might help to overthrow the enemies of France, both within and without the State.

Thus, it was the question of war that turned the two parties of the Left into bitter enemies. Later on, in the next Assembly, the Convention, the rival parties are generally referred to as the Mountain and the Plain. The Jacobins were the Mountain, because they occupied the raised seats at the back of the Assembly;

the Brissotins were the Plain, because they used the lower seats.

The Legislative Assembly was soon faced with difficult problems of practical politics. In the summer of 1791 a rising had broken out in San Domingo, one of the chief French colonies, and there was also a serious insurrection in Avignon. By one of the last acts of the Constituent Assembly, Avignon and the Venaissin, which belonged to the Papacy, were annexed in the autumn of 1791. This annexation was made without compensation being given to the Pope, although they had been Papal possessions since the fourteenth century, and their status had been guaranteed by treaties. This flagrant violation of international law was one of the pretexts for the war which Austria was soon to wage against France, and both insurrections provided topics for constant wrangling in the Assembly. These matters also showed conclusively how slowly business, however urgent, was to be conducted by this unexperienced body.

Interest in the question of war, however, soon swamped all other topics, especially when it became apparent that Louis and Marie Antoinette were intriguing with Austria and Prussia. It is probable that, to begin with, all that they wished for was an armed demonstration in their favour; whatever the facts of the case may have been, their actions were only too easily construed to mean a desire for war. This set the whole Assembly ablaze, for the nightmare of foreign intervention had always haunted the minds of the revolutionists. Thus, one of the permanent causes of the Queen's unpopularity was the feeling that she was intriguing with Austria; and the fear that the King would stir up the *émigrés*

and foreign powers had been the reason which made the Assembly prevent Louis from escaping, and which caused him to be dragged back from Varennes. Little as the revolutionists wanted the King as a ruler, still less did they want him to be seeking refuge among the enemies of France. Austria was particularly dangerous and the object of suspicion. Leopold of Austria, the Queen's brother, it is true, died on March 1, 1792, but the Queen's nephew, Francis II, might always be expected to help Louis. Furthermore, the general impression that serious intrigues were brewing was encouraged by the attitude of the *émigrés*. Ever since the early days of the National Assembly there had been a steady emigration of the noblesse, who had left France to save their lives. The King's brothers, the Count of Provence, known as 'Monsieur', and the Count of Artois, had joined the *émigrés*. They congregated at Coblenz, under the protection of the Elector of Trèves, organized themselves into regiments, and ostentatiously aired their wild schemes of returning to France to take vengeance for their wrongs.

That the Brissotins were determined to provoke a war seemed certain; and steps were insisted upon which might have provoked it at once. Louis was obliged to insist that the Electors of Trèves and Mainz should disperse the emigrant armies in their territories; Leopold was also asked to bring influence to bear upon the Electors. These demands were granted. However, the Brissotins persisted in their belief that Austria was engineering a great European combination against France. It must be remembered that they had very plausible grounds for these fears. In the previous year, after the flight to Varennes, Leopold had made

the Treaty of Pilnitz with Frederick William II of Prussia (August, 1791). In this treaty they had agreed to co-operate against France and to restore the King to power, if other nations would join in. When Louis accepted the Constitution it is true that this treaty was automatically made null and void. Still, when all is considered, this treaty was a substantial ground for suspecting that Austria and Prussia were the enemies of France.

There was indeed small chance for peace when not only were the Brissotins eager for war, but the Royalists, headed by Lafayette, hoped that a brief and glorious war would restore the monarchy to power. When Austria, therefore, at last demanded that compensation should be given to those noblesse of Alsace who had lost their feudal dues by the revolutionary decrees, that the Pope should be indemnified for Avignon and the Venaissin, and that the Government of Paris should secure Europe from the fear of democratic agitation, these demands were refused, and war was declared by France (April 20 1792). One thing is certain, that the mass of the French people supported the war because they feared an unprovoked foreign invasion, while the politicians on the other hand had no such fears. They at least knew the war had been engineered by Girondists and Royalists for their own purposes.

The outbreak of the war resulted in the fall of the Feuillants, and with them went the last hope of the monarchy.

The Brissotin Ministry, Roland (Interior), Clavière (Finance), de Grav (War), Dumouriez (Foreign Affairs), Lacoste (Marine), was now forced upon the King, and they soon succeeded in placing him in a series

of dilemmas which were purposely designed to entrap him. They passed three laws, one for the banishment of non-juring priests, another abolishing the King's guard, and a third giving permission to the *fédérés*, or volunteers, to form a camp outside the walls of Paris on the plea that they were ready to defend France. The King placed his veto upon the first and the last of these decrees, and then dismissed the ministry on the advice of Dumouriez, the commander-in-chief, and summoned a reactionary ministry in its place. This dismissal aroused all the spite and malice of the Brissotins; they began at once to think of insurrection. As a preliminary step, the Paris mob were stirred up to bring petitions to the King for the removal of the vetoes. This was easily done: the war was already going badly, and public feeling against the King was very bitter. War had been declared on April 20; and eight days after the French had invaded the Austrian Netherlands, their armies were defeated; for the levies, though enthusiastic, were ill-drilled and badly disciplined. Rumours even spread that the enemy were marching on Paris itself. In the light of these events, little encouragement was needed to stir up the mob against the King. On June 20, the Palace of the Tuileries was stormed, under the pretext that the mob wanted to petition the King. They rushed into the Palace, beating open the doors of even the King's private apartments. Carlyle says of this event: 'Louis does not want courage; he has even the higher kind called moral courage, though only the passive half of that. His few National Grenadiers shuffle back with him into the embrasure of a window. Here he stands with unimpeachable passivity, amid the shouldering

and braying, a spectacle to men. They give him a red cap of liberty; he sets it quietly on his head, forgets it is there. He complains of thirst; half-drunk Rascality offers him a bottle; he drinks of it. "Sire, do not fear;" says one of his Grenadiers. "Fear?" answers Louis; "feel then"; putting the man's hand on his heart.'

There were no direct results from this insurrection, but it made plain to all that the King would soon be overthrown.

In August another similar outbreak took place in Paris. By this time Prussia had joined with Austria, and a Prussian army was invading France along the Moselle, under the Duke of Brunswick. The Duke of Brunswick issued in July a manifesto, doubtless inspired by Marie Antoinette, calling on the French people to submit to their lawful sovereign, and adding that the members of the National Assembly, of the Municipality, and of the National Guard of Paris would be held responsible with their heads for all events, and threatening Paris with destruction if any harm came to the King and the Royal Family. This was sufficient to rouse popular fury against the monarchy to the boiling-point. As the Duke of Brunswick advanced, Danton and the leaders of the city mob gathered together to strike down the King, the supposed enemy of the safety of France. A large force of volunteers marching from Marseilles, singing the 'Marseillaise', determined to strike down Louis and thus to save France. On August 10, Danton incited an armed mob to attack the Tuileries; for the second time the royal palace was invaded. The Swiss Guard was massacred, and the King and his family were forced to take refuge in the Assembly. After some discussion, the Assembly decided that a

Convention should be summoned to produce a new Constitution; that the King should not be deposed, but should be suspended from his office and lodged in the Luxembourg; and that a *gouverneur* should be appointed for the Dauphin.

The Commune, however, was by no means satisfied with these steps. They wanted the total destruction of the monarchy, and they believed that two barriers stood in the way of it, Lafayette, and the common people, to whom the monarchy was endeared by sentiment and tradition. Robespierre and Marat determined to break down these obstacles. Lafayette was superseded in his command, with the result that he gave himself up to the Austrians, remaining a prisoner until 1797. As for the King, he was handed over by the Assembly to the Commune, and was lodged in the Temple.

Meanwhile, the allies were advancing on Paris. On the 19th the army had crossed the Rhine, on the 24th Longwy capitulated, on September 2 Verdun fell. Danton, more convinced than ever that monarchy was bringing destruction upon France, strove to bring fear into the hearts of all the Royalists. Massacres were organized by a small committee under Marat, and over a thousand victims were murdered from among those who were supposed to be favourable to monarchy.

Soon, however, the tide of battle turned in favour of the French. On September 20, Dumouriez won the battle of Valmy, a small contest, but an epoch-making event.

The day after Valmy the new Convention met. France was declared a Republic; the *émigrés* were declared to be banished, and the trial of the King was

resolved upon. This took place in December, and on January 21 in the following year Louis XVI was executed.

Thus the Legislative Assembly, from which so much had been expected, passed away in storm and stress, the monarchy was entirely done away with, and the Constitution was void. The Convention was to last longer, from September 1792 until October 1795, but during this time much of its power was delegated to committees.

In the few months after the establishment of the Republic (September 21, 1792) the French armies had a wonderful run of success, which proved to be the turning-point of the war and which seemed to justify the new form of government. An army under Custine went over the Rhine, capturing Spires, Mainz, and Frankfort-on-the-Maine. In Belgium, too, Dumouriez won a victory at Jemappes; he also took Brussels and conquered the Austrian Netherlands. These successes were the cause of much rejoicing in France. Elated by them, the Convention in November 1792 issued a proclamation offering assistance to all people who wished to throw off their present form of government. This, and the execution of the King in January 1793, horrified the nations of Europe. France had developed into a firebrand. Europe was stirred to action. France soon found herself surrounded by foes, who, on various pretexts, now decided to attack her. Spain fought in the Pyrenees, Sardinia in the Alps. Great Britain and the Netherlands joined in the fray when France declared the Scheldt to be an open river for trade. Before this time, a series of treaties had forbidden the navigation of the river

Scheldt, in order that the Dutch might have the monopoly of all the trade of the North Sea. The only goods which might be brought up the river were those on Dutch ships, or after payment of dues to the Dutch. This arrangement no doubt seems to us to have been unfair, but England then always feared that Antwerp might become a serious rival to London if these treaties were not upheld.

When she was facing all these enemies, France soon had a taste of failure. Her armies were defeated at Maestricht and Neerwinden (March 18, 1793), and at last were driven out of Belgium. This caused violent quarrelling in the Convention. The Jacobins, or the Mountain, as they were called, laid all the blame upon the Girondists, who had placed Dumouriez in his position as Commander-in-Chief. They seized the opportunity to insist upon the setting up of the Revolutionary Tribunal, a permanent assembly which was to try all cases of conspiracy against the nation. Each party hoped to be able to use this tribunal against the other.

The Convention now made it clear that they suspected the loyalty of Dumouriez. He was summoned to the bar of the Convention, members actually being sent to fetch him. Dumouriez, however, had them conveyed to the Austrian lines, where they were made prisoners, and, shortly afterwards, he himself escaped into the enemy's camp, followed by some 800 men (April 5, 1793).

This treachery was not the least of the troubles that beset the Convention in the early days of March. Civil war had broken out in the west of France, in La Vendée, the district south of the Loire. The peasants had been

stirred to discontent by the treatment of the clergy, i. e. by the Civil Constitution and the decree of banishment. The pretext for revolution was, however, given when an order for conscription was issued by the Convention declaring that all unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 40 were to hold themselves in readiness to join the army. The peasants were soon joined by malcontents of all descriptions, Royalists and discontented nobles; a formidable outbreak was the result. The nature of the country lent itself to rebellion; it was hilly and woody, and the insurgents were able to carry on a successful guerilla warfare; this, added to the fact that most of the regular troops were employed on the eastern frontier, made the suppression of the rising a difficult task; in fact, the rebellion did not really come to an end until the beginning of the year 1796, and that not before the Vendéens had done much damage.

France meanwhile had determined that she must have a new executive. The Convention therefore entrusted its power to a Committee of Public Safety, which subjected the country to a rule of tyranny afterwards known as The Terror. The Committee was composed first of nine, and then of twelve members. The leading spirit was at first Danton and then Robespierre. Two other important members were St. Just and Couthon. When the Committee was reconstructed, July 10, 1793, Danton was omitted, and he found that he could not restrain the instrument which he had created to save France at all costs.

The quarrel between the Jacobins and the Girondists meanwhile came to a crisis, which ended in the expulsion of the Girondists from the Convention. When

disasters came upon France, the fury of the people turned against the Gironde because Dumouriez was the general to whom they had entrusted the war. The Girondists made an opening for the breach by accusing first Danton of complicity with Dumouriez, and then Marat of working against the interests of the country. Marat was actually tried and acquitted. Then the Jacobins in the Commune, or municipal assembly of Paris, stirred up the mob to compel the Convention to arrest the Girondist deputies (June 1793).

Some of the Girondists managed to escape. They immediately began to stir up insurrections in the country against the government of their rivals. There were risings in Normandy, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Lyons, and Toulon surrendered to an English fleet. Lyons only surrendered after a siege of two months; part of the town was reduced to ruins, and the leaders of the revolt were guillotined.

Long before this conclusion, however, one of the Committee, Marat, had fallen by the hands of an assassin. Charlotte Corday, a young woman of 25, journeyed to Paris, bought a knife, and, having forced an entrance into Marat's house on the pretext that she had information from Caen which would serve him, murdered him (July 13, 1793). She was executed two days afterwards.

The Committee of Public Safety now began to redouble its efforts to root out those who were thought to be disloyal to the Government. Their purpose was the defence of the Revolution at all hazards. The revolutionary system was applied to local government. In 21,000 communes a committee of twelve was elected by the people, and given wide powers of arrest and

imprisonment; and a tribunal was set up in the large towns, with powers of life and death. Executions became common all over France.

Again, because the price of bread was rising and discontent was rife, an attempt to fix prices was made by the *Law of the Maximum*; this fixed first the price of bread, and then the price of other necessaries. Further, the *Law of the Suspects* empowered the revolutionary committees to imprison all those who might be suspected of disapproving of the Revolution, e. g. all members of noble families or any who had aristocratic sympathies. *Deputies of Mission*, or representatives of the Committee, were also sent round the country; their first business being to raise troops, their second to watch the conduct of local officials, and to help with the work of rooting out the suspects. The guillotine, an instrument for execution invented by a certain Dr. Guillotin, was kept busy to a terrible extent.

On October 16 Marie Antoinette was executed. She had been accused and found guilty of many crimes against the State, the chief being the charge of intriguing with Austria. The trial, as might have been expected, was conducted with shameless injustice. Here Marie Antoinette behaved with great heroism and dignity. At her trial her defence was simple: 'Yesterday I knew not who were to give evidence against me, or of what I was to be accused. No one has proved any positive fact against me. I was the King's wife, and had to obey him.' Her end has shed a halo of romance about her life; her calmness and fortitude and the injustice she suffered are apt to blind people to the harm she certainly did to France and the cause of peace.

Before the end of the month many of the Girondins had followed her to the scaffold and early in the next month Mme Roland met with the same fate. From this time onwards, both in Paris and in the provinces, executions were even more freely carried out, in the hope of exterminating those who would not uphold the Revolution.

The Girondists having been destroyed, the Mountain soon began to quarrel among themselves, those in the Commune being unable to agree with those of the Convention. Danton, now that the elements of disorder had been suppressed in the State, wished for the dictatorship of the Committee to end. The rebellion in La Vendée had been crushed, the English defeated at Hondschoote, the Austrians at Wattignies; Alsace had been cleared of the foe, and Toulon captured from the English. Therefore, he argued that the Committee had done its work. It had created by the genius of Carnot the armies which were to save France. At this point Danton would have mitigated the severity of the Government. But it had passed completely from his control. As we saw, he had not been re-elected when it was reorganized in July 1793. For the time being Hébert in the Commune was the directing force. This man was a low, blaspheming journalist, who had been one of the principal directors of the September massacres. He himself was an atheist, and his party compelled the Convention to abolish the Catholic religion. In its place was set up the worship of Reason. On this account a mad and disgraceful scene took place in Notre Dame, which Carlyle has described: 'A young woman, fair to look upon when well rouged; she, borne on a palanquin shoulder high; with red woollen

nightcap; in azure mantle; garlanded with oak; holding in her hand the Pike of the Jupiter-*Peuple*, sails in: heralded by white young women girt in tricolour: and was taken in procession to Notre Dame. On the way the President and Secretaries give Goddess Candeille, borne at due height round their platform, successively the Fraternal kiss, whereupon she, by decree, sails to the right hand of the President and there alights. And now, after due pause and flourishes of oratory, the Convention, gathering its limbs, does get under way in the required procession towards Notre Dame. Reason, again on her litter, sitting in the van of them, borne, as one judges, by men in the Roman costume; escorted by wind-music, red nightcaps, and the madness of the world. And so, straightway, Reason taking seat on the high-altar of Notre Dame, the requisite worship or quasi-worship is, say the newspapers, executed, National Convention chanting the Hymn to Liberty.'

However Robespierre, who was the chief figure of the Committee, presented an uncompromising attitude to Hébert. Consequently, when Hébert and his party attempted an insurrection against Robespierre they were summarily executed. Having got rid of one of his rivals, Robespierre next turned upon Danton, and he was sent to the guillotine, leaving Robespierre triumphant.

A word must be said about this extraordinary man, who after the removal of Danton was to be the principal figure of the Revolution. Robespierre was by profession a barrister, of bourgeois origin. He was steeped in the doctrines of Rousseau. If Danton had wished to sweep aside all obstacles which stood in the way of the safety of France, Robespierre wished to destroy

ruthlessly any one who hindered the achievement of his ideal for France. He was in a peculiar way a religious fanatic, though he had acquiesced in the abolition of the Catholic religion. In its place he wished to see set up the worship of a Supreme Being, with himself as the high priest. He wished every one either to conform to the idea of civic virtue which Rousseau had delineated, in a pure democracy, or to be annihilated. With this ideal in view, the Government became even more tyrannical than it had been before; so that it is simply grotesque to compare the practical results of the revolutionary movement at this point with the hopes which had inspired only a few years back the first members of the National Assembly. Robespierre Rousseau set up a tyranny which was worse than the most despotic days of the *ancien régime*. The climax came when increased powers were given to the Paris Tribunal, in order that the trials of those who were suspected of working against the Government might be expedited. This was called the Law of the 22nd Prairial (for the revolutionists had even renamed the months); by it prisoners were tried in groups, counsel for defence was not allowed, witnesses for the defence were not called. By this means within a short time over a thousand victims fell. France had been really brought under martial law, and at a time when it was not necessary to do this, because on all sides the armies of the Republic were being victorious, and there was absolutely no foundation for the cry that the State was in danger. On June 8 Robespierre solemnized a great fête in honour of the Supreme Being. In this he himself took the principal part, clad in a bright blue coat, and carrying offerings of fruit and corn in his

hands. It is said that as he walked his head was bent forward a little, and he looked at the ground in an attitude of submission.

Uneasiness, however, began to be felt on all sides, and a *coup d'état* was planned on the 9th of Thermidor (July 27, 1794); Robespierre was arrested and the next day he was executed. The following day nearly eighty members of his party were led to the guillotine.

The National Convention was now controlled by the Moderates, and a reaction set in. The Municipality of Paris, or the Commune, was abolished; the repeal of the Law of the Maximum was brought about; peace was made with the Vendéens; toleration to all forms of religion was extended; and the spoliation of the friends of the *émigrés* ceased. Finally, peace was brought about with the enemies of France. The Treaty of Basle, between France and Prussia, was drawn up in April 1795. By this treaty France continued in possession of the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine; certain northern States were recognized as neutral territory, although the Empire was still at war with France. Spain and Holland also made peace. The coalition had, therefore, been broken up at last. Austria, England, and Sardinia however remained at war.

It was now clear that some new form of government must be devised. In August the *Constitution of the Year III* of the Republic was formed. Henceforth the legislature was to consist of two chambers: the Council of Ancients, and the Council of Five Hundred. The upper house had a suspensory veto on legislation, and the executive was vested in a Directory of five. This arrangement, however, was extremely unpopular, because while it was arranged that a third of the members

should retire every year, it was decreed that two-thirds of the members should be chosen from the Convention. The mob of Paris rose against the Convention. One of the Directory, Barras, organized the defences. His lieutenant of artillery was by name Napoleon Bonaparte. The defence was successful, and the Convention came to an end on October 26, 1795, and from 1795 to 1799 the government of France was in the hands of the Directory.

CHAPTER IV

THE DIRECTORY AND THE CONSULATE, DOWN TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS

Napoleon, as we have seen, became conspicuous by his defence of the Directory on October 5, 1795, or 13 Vendémaire, by the revolutionary calendar; and for twenty-five years onwards his personality dominates French history. He left behind him a tradition of government and a memory which made the mere name of Napoleon act as a charm, even when it was held by another man. Barras, who was called upon to put down the revolt, chose Bonaparte as an expert artillery officer, who was known to have done well at Toulon. All his expectations were justified. Bonaparte fortified the Tuileries so skilfully that the assailants were literally wiped out by his guns.

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) was the son of a poor Corsican lawyer of Florentine extraction. At the age of ten he was sent to the Military Academy at Brienne; five years later he went to Paris to finish his military studies, and in due course received a commission in the French army. At first his whole sympathies were with the struggle for national independence in Corsica; gradually, however, his mind became absorbed in the French Revolution and its problems. Early in his career he proved himself an expert artillery officer, and made himself conspicuously useful against the English and Spanish at Toulon in 1793. This was the first important step in a military career, which was to

mark him out as the greatest general Europe has ever seen. He was always a man who was conspicuous for unique and extraordinary abilities, together with great powers of personal magnetism. He had an enormous capacity for work; it is said that he could do eighteen hours at a stretch without feeling the strain. Added to this power, he had great gifts of imagination and inventiveness, and a wonderful memory. He could get to the root of a matter, and master technicalities with great swiftness; while his zeal for reorganization and improvement embraced matters both small and great. It has been wittily said of him: 'He was one of those rare men who assume that everything they come across, from a government to a saucepan, is probably constructed on wrong principles and capable of amendment.' Like Danton, he looked at the Revolution and the latent forces that it had awakened in France from a European point of view. History had inspired him with large ambitions, and dreams of world-power; Alexander, Julius Caesar, and Charlemagne had taught him what a fighting-man could do with enthusiasm behind him. Such was the man who was in time to overthrow the Directory, the ladder by which he climbed to power.

The first task for the Directory was the subjection of Austria, and the defeat of England; the other important hostile elements of the First Coalition, Spain and Prussia, having, as we have seen, already made peace at Basle.

The Directory determined to make a threefold attack upon Austria, viz. by the Valley of the Maine, by the Rhine, and by Italy. The commands of the first two armies were given respectively to Jourdain and Moreau, Napoleon being set at the head of the army destined for

Italy. Though at the time this was not supposed to be the most important section of the new development, Napoleon by his genius soon converted it into the most significant part of the whole campaign, in spite of the fact that the army set under him was ill paid, ill equipped, and without reasonable chances of reinforcement. In the end, Jourdain and Moreau failed, but Bonaparte was brilliantly successful. The Italian campaign is a wonderful testimony to his genius.

Before examining the details of his campaign, the political condition of Italy needs a few words of explanation. It was divided up into many States, which in several instances were connected with other European Governments. Thus, Milan was in the hands of Austria, Tuscany was held by a Hapsburg, Piedmont belonged to Sardinia, whilst the two Sicilies, i. e. Naples and Sicily, together with Parma, belonged to the Spanish Bourbons. Venice, Genoa, and Lucca were republics.

Napoleon entered Italy, proclaiming himself the champion of Italian freedom, the man who was to rid the country from the yoke of the foreigner; for in this way he hoped to gain the support of the Italians. At the same time, perhaps illogically, in the light of his rôle as the deliverer and saviour of the nation, he decided to make his army self-supporting, deliberately inciting his men to live on their plunder. He addressed them in these words: 'Soldiers, you are half-starved and half-naked. The Government owes you much, but it can do nothing for you. I am about to lead you into the most fertile valleys of the world: there you will reap honour, glory, and riches. Soldiers of the army of Italy, will you lack courage?'

Whatever may have been the morals of his policy,

success was rapid. He entered Italy in April by the gap between the Maritime Alps and the sea. In the first month of the campaign the Sardinian allies of Austria were defeated five times; on May 15 peace was made. Savoy and Nice were ceded to France with the fortresses of Tortina, Vallenza, and Cio.

Napoleon then pushed on, crossing the Adda at the bridge of Lodi. Here was fought a great battle, and in it Napoleon himself showed great personal bravery, thus gaining the affectionate nickname of 'Le Petit Caporal' from his soldiers: a legend also soon arose that he had charged at the head of a column of tall grenadiers, and was actually the first man to reach the opposite side of the river. The details of this story are incorrect, but it signifies the spirit that was thought to be in him.

Still triumphing, on May 16 Napoleon entered Milan. By this victory all Lombardy was in his hands except Mantua, the key of Northern Italy. This town was besieged, and held out gallantly from June 1796 until February 1797. Its retention was held to be so important that the Austrians sent no fewer than five armies to its relief. These were defeated at Brescia, Castiglione, Arcola, and Rivoli. At length, when the surrender of Mantua came about, Austria was ready to treat for peace. This was eventually made at Campo-Formio in the October of the same year. By it France was given the Rhine as a frontier; Venice and her territories became Austrian; and the northern and central States of Italy which Napoleon had organized into a Cisalpine Republic were recognized as such by Austria. This republic had been set up during the six months' interval between the preliminaries of peace and the signature of the treaty. It is interesting to remember that the States of Genoa

were also transformed into the Ligurian Republic (June 1797).

Meanwhile, at home the Assembly and the Directory were becoming uneasy at the growth of Napoleon's power in Italy. Even before the Treaty of Campo-Formio was completed, they had criticized his actions and his tyrannical interference with the States of Italy. In order to combat this hostility, Napoleon, on the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, i. e. on July 14, 1797, issued a declaration to his army, stating that owing to Royalist intrigues the Republic was in danger. He then sent General Augereau to overawe the Directory and the Assembly with soldiers. The Tuileries was surrounded, and those members of the Directory, Carnot and Barthélemy, who were regarded as reactionaries, were removed. Carnot escaped to Switzerland; Barthélemy was deported. Thus, the Directory for the time being fell under the control of the army. This *coup d'état* took place on September 4, and is known as 18 Fructidor. Napoleon returned to Paris on December 5, leaving General Berthier in command in Italy.

Meanwhile, after Campo-Formio, it was plainly apparent that the enemy of France was Great Britain. Napoleon, recognizing this fact, wished to undertake an invasion of England. However, after investigation, he found that it would be impracticable, though he actually caused himself to be set at the head of an 'Army of England'. The idea was not new; already there had been two attempted invasions. In December 1796, 25,000 men under General Hoche had set out for Ireland, for a raid which proved entirely unsuccessful. The ships of one division reached Bantry Bay, where they anchored, and then as speedily left, having done nothing.

Again, in the following February, 1,200 men landed in Pembrokeshire, with no better luck; they surrendered within two days.

It is instructive to notice that Great Britain owed her safety then, as now, to the supremacy of her fleet. This superiority had been demonstrated by her victories of St. Vincent and Camperdown over the Spanish and Dutch fleets respectively in 1797. These two victories had successfully prevented the junction of two enemy fleets, which were under the control of France. We shall see how Great Britain's naval supremacy was also to wreck Napoleon's next scheme for her subjugation, when he had given up the idea of actual invasion for the time being, in favour of cutting connexion between Great Britain, India, and the Far East, thus crippling our trade and hurting our Empire.

With this aim in view, Napoleon now planned an attack on Egypt, with the object of eventually controlling the shortest route to India. It was given out to the world at large that his Egyptian campaign was undertaken to punish the Beys, who, it was alleged, had ill-treated French merchants. Napoleon himself, however, in an address to his army, gave the best possible epitome of the reasons for the war. He said: 'Soldiers, you are about to undertake a conquest, the effects of which on civilization and commerce are incalculable. The blow you are about to give to England will be the best aimed and the most sensibly felt she can receive, until the time when you can give her her death-blow': that is, of course, until circumstances made an invasion possible.

The campaign began well. Napoleon landed successfully in Egypt, having taken the island of Malta on his way, which up to this time belonged to the Knights

of St. John. But his success was shortlived. Nelson pursued him and destroyed his fleet in Aboukir Bay, at the Battle of the Nile, 1798. Though Napoleon had by this time defeated the Mamelukes, or mercenary forces of the Beys, at the Battle of the Pyramids, by this victory Nelson wrecked his whole plan. All his fleet, except two ships, had been captured or destroyed.

At this point it is rather amusing to notice that in England then, as now, the popular caricaturist was busy. Gilray, the most famous of them, portrayed Napoleon in many guises, just as nowadays *Punch* pillories the Kaiser. Napoleon went to Egypt, as he had done to Italy, proclaiming that he came not as an oppressor but as the saviour of national rights. His proclamation on landing was characteristic of him: 'People of Egypt, you will be told that I am come to destroy your religion: do not believe it. Be assured that I come to restore your rights, to punish the usurpers, and that I respect more than the Mamelukes, God, His Prophet, and the Alcoran. Tell them that all men are equal in the eye of God; wisdom, talents, and virtue make the only difference.' Gilray, therefore, seized his opportunity and depicted Napoleon in several amusing pictures as a full-fledged convert to the Mohammedan religion. Another time, the Battle of the Nile was celebrated by a cartoon entitled: 'Extirpation of the Plagues of Egypt: Destruction of Revolutionary Crocodiles; or, the British Hero Cleansing the Mouth of the Nile.' Nelson is represented as brandishing a cudgel of British oak in one hand, whilst in the other he holds fishing-lines which have captured tricoloured crocodiles, meant to represent French ships.

Another episode which caused Gilray to make merry

were the ' savants ' whom Napoleon, with characteristic thoroughness, had taken with him to investigate the archaeology of Egypt. Some are represented reading books *Sur l'éducation du crocodile*; showing how the crocodile may be tamed for the purposes of transport. Another shows a learned man immersed in *Les droits du crocodile*, at the same time all unconscious that his coat-tails are being devoured by one of these creatures. As time went on, however, the caricatures of Napoleon became far more bitter.

After the battle of the Nile Napoleon's difficulties speedily multiplied, for the Turks declared war upon France, and attempted to recover Egypt. Napoleon, in order to forestall their plans, attacked Syria; however, he failed to capture Acre, and was forced to retire to Egypt. Here he was again attacked by the Turks, whom he defeated at the Battle of Aboukir, 1799. It was after this battle that Napoleon received news from France, after a lapse of ten months. He learnt that there was quarrelling at home: that a second coalition against France had come into being, i. e. Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Turkey, Naples, and Portugal; for the activity of France on all sides was making her appear dangerous to the whole of Europe.

If we go back a little in history, we shall see how this feeling came about. When Napoleon left General Berthier in command in Italy, the French entered the city of Rome on the pretext of quieting disturbances. The Pope was forced to take refuge in Pisa, and the *Roman Republic* was set up (February 1798). Again, in March of the same year, the Swiss were formed into a *Helvetian Republic*. Matters did not end here. Trouble continued in Italy, for the Pope was restored and the Republic overthrown by

the Neapolitans, only to be set up once more again by the French, and in January 1799 the States of Southern Italy were formed into the *Parthenopean Republic.* It became generally felt that France was too dangerous. After this, troubles came thick upon her. The Allies attacked her with success upon the Rhine. Russians and Austrians in Italy under Suvaroff carried all before them, and in course of time the Cisalpine Republic was abolished, and the French were defeated at the Battle of Novi (August 1799) and driven out of Italy.

When Bonaparte heard all this he made up his mind that he must return to France without delay. He felt that this was the critical moment for his destiny, and the fate of France. He set sail from Egypt at the end of August, leaving his unwilling army, under General Kleber, in a sad plight for lack of ships. Having cleverly evaded the English fleet, he reached France in October. Men were glad enough to see him, for there was a general feeling that a Dictator was necessary. Generals Moreau and Joubert had already declined the suggestion that one of them should be First Magistrate. Napoleon, however, was more ambitious. On November 7–18, after considerable intriguing, he again used the soldiers to overawe the Assembly. The Directory was abolished, and a provisional government of three Consuls was set up instead: they were Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Ducos. However, in a short time, in December, the two latter were deposed, and Napoleon took the lead over two other men as First Consul. His ambitions in this direction had been apparent from the first meeting. Sieyès had asked, 'Which of us is to preside?' and Ducos pertinently answered, 'Do you not see that the General is presiding?' For fifteen years, first as First Consul, then as First Consul

for life, and finally as Emperor, Napoleon ruled with absolute power in France, and by his ambition he kept the whole of Europe in constant confusion. Though France itself was heavily taxed to maintain his armies, and drained of men, he did good to the country in many ways. He put an end to the disorders of the Revolution; he restored the Catholic Church (making a Concordat with the Pope in 1802); and he framed a code of laws which was so clear and simple—the Code Napoléon—that it has been copied by many other nations.

When all attempts at peace with Great Britain and Austria had failed, Napoleon, fearing that France might be invaded by Austria, determined to strike once more at the Austrian power in Italy, and to retrieve French reputation in that country. In spite of great difficulties, he took his army across the Alps, and succeeded in defeating the Austrians at Marengo (June 1800). In December, Moreau crossed the Rhine and defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden in Bavaria. These two victories had the desired effect. At last, peace was made with Austria at Lunéville (February 1801). By it all Germany on the left bank of the Rhine was given up to France. Austria was compelled to recognize the Adige as a boundary, and also to recognize the Cisalpine, the Ligurian, the Helvetic, and the Batavian or Dutch Republics.

Meanwhile, the war was progressing unfavourably for France in the East. The garrison which had been left in Malta was starved into submission, the island fell into the hands of the British, and has remained from that day (September 5, 1800) to this in our possession; and also the army which had been left in Egypt was at last driven to surrender, on condition that the men,

arms, and baggage were conveyed to France (August 1801). France was helpless here because she had not the command of the sea.

Throughout the whole struggle Napoleon had felt the power of the British Navy. The French and Spanish fleets, during a large part of this time, were successfully blockaded in Brest by Lord St. Vincent, so that no help could be given by them. The hold which Great Britain retained upon the East effectively thwarted Napoleon's plans for world-empire.

Napoleon, however, succeeded in detaching another member of the Second Coalition. Paul I, the Tsar, was at last disgusted and tired of his allies. He withdrew from the alliance, and when Great Britain refused to give up Malta to him in his capacity of Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, only too readily, at the instigation of Napoleon, he formed the *Armed Neutrality of the North*. This league consisted of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. It was formed to compel Great Britain to relax her rights of blockade and search. Great Britain would not relax her claim, and thus war became inevitable. The Battle of Copenhagen (April 1801), however, resulted in a victory for the British. This victory, coming as it did just after the assassination of the Tsar, enabled peace to be brought about between Great Britain and Russia.

Both sides were beginning by now to be tired of the war, and, after long negotiations, peace was signed between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland, at Amiens (March 1802).

The terms of the Treaty of Amiens were :—

1. Great Britain retained Ceylon and Trinidad, but restored her other conquests.

2. France evacuated Naples and the Roman territory, and restored Egypt to Turkey.

3. The independence of the Ionian Isles was acknowledged.

4. Portugal surrendered a strip of Guiana to France.

5. Great Britain was to restore Malta and Gozo to the Knights of St. John.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE EXILE OF NAPOLEON TO ELBA

The Peace of Amiens proved to be little more than a truce between Great Britain and France. Although for the time being both countries were exhausted by the war, and matters of internal organization were urgently claiming attention in France, yet the tension between the two countries was too great for any peace to be durable, and public opinion in Great Britain had never approved of the treaty. It is therefore not surprising that within fourteen months war was renewed (May 1803).

Napoleon made use of this short period of respite to reorganize and reconstruct French institutions, a work in which he was keenly interested and which he had begun to tackle even before the treaty. He now had time to apply his clear and powerful intellect to these peaceful tasks with the same enthusiasm that he gave to warfare; and there was here a field of work which might have provided scope enough and to spare for the activities of a lifetime. But, as we have seen, this period of domestic reform was short-lived. Napoleon could not conceal or suppress his restless ambitions. There was soon good cause for Great Britain again to feel real fear about his intentions.

The question of Malta was the pivot on which the whole situation turned. This island, according to the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, should have been given

up at once by Great Britain; but, as a matter of fact, this had been delayed, as events subsequent to the signature of the treaty seemed to point to the fact that France was not sincere in her protestations; that she was going to occupy Egypt with her old idea of imperilling our connexions with India. Thus, on January 30, 1803, there had appeared in the French *Moniteur* a semi-official report of a certain Colonel Sebastiani's mission to the East, in which it was stated that 6,000 French troops could easily re-conquer Egypt. This announcement was justly regarded as a sinister threat, so that, when the British evacuated Egypt and the Cape, they were not withdrawn from Malta, for this would have been to relinquish our last hold on the route to India.

Moreover, this fact, significant as it was of unbridled ambition, did not stand alone. It was amply clear that Napoleon was pursuing an aggressive policy in Holland, Northern Italy, and Switzerland. The Batavian Republic, as Holland was now called, was given a President by Napoleon. This dignitary only held office for three months, and his Council met but for a few days during the year. Bonaparte also became President of the Cisalpine Republic in Northern Italy. Again, in Switzerland, he set up a new constitution, with a supreme Magistrate who was in his pay.

All these facts naturally helped to confirm our suspicions of France and Napoleon. When Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador in Paris, was openly insulted by him, the issue was decided. War was declared on France by Great Britain on May 18, 1803.

Meanwhile, Napoleon's influence and popularity in France were steadily increasing, so that, shortly after the treaty had been made, he was made First Consul

for life. However, there was still a small and highly dangerous Royalist minority to whom his authority was offensive. These people now began to plot against him. The most serious conspiracy was set on foot by a Breton, Georges Cadoudal, aided by Pichegru and Moreau, two of his former generals. It was, however, discovered in time, and its promoters paid the penalty for their attempt. On another occasion, Napoleon affected to believe that a plot was being engineered against him by the Duc d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince who was living in the neutral State of Baden. He was seized, brought to Vincennes, and executed before a legal sentence had actually been passed upon him. This flagrant violation of international law caused great indignation throughout Europe. Napoleon meant it to be an object-lesson to show that he would tolerate no revolt on the part of the Royalists. He himself said : 'I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested in consequence of the Bourbons having landed assassins in France to murder me. I was resolved to let them see that the blood of one of their Princes should pay for their attempts. He was, accordingly, tried for having borne arms against the Republic, found guilty and shot, according to the existing laws against such a crime.' As with Elizabeth of England, however, attempts upon Napoleon's life only increased his popularity in his own country, with the result that on May 18, 1804, he was declared Emperor by popular consent and, at the end of the same year, Pope Pius VII journeyed to Paris to preside over the Coronation. It was significant that, at this ceremony, just at the moment when the Pope was about to take the crown, called the crown of Charlemagne, from the altar, Napoleon seized it and set it on his own head, afterwards placing a crown on the head of Josephine, his

wife, thus showing that he would acknowledge no superior, even in matters of religion.

In the following year, May 20, 1805, Napoleon was crowned King of Italy with the Iron crown of Lombardy. This act provoked Austria, and incidentally helped Pitt to form his third coalition against France. Sweden and Russia had joined Great Britain on April 11, 1805, and Austria came in on July 7.

Napoleon now fully recognized that Great Britain was still his arch-enemy and, from this time forward, the invasion of England, a project which he had already once abandoned, became again his chief aim and object.

With the attack on England in view, Boulogne was chosen as the head-quarters of an army of invasion. Here Napoleon stationed some 120,000 men, whom he purposed to convey across the Channel in a fleet of 12,000 flat-bottomed boats. Two conditions were necessary for the success of this plan: fine weather and the absence of the English fleet from the Channel; and these two conditions were exactly what could not be obtained. Great Britain's naval supremacy was an established fact, and the flat-bottomed boats, which were difficult to steer, and could only float in fine weather, needed at least ten days' successive calm to get out of Boulogne harbour. Owing to local conditions of tide it was impossible to get more than 100 out on any one day. The excitement in England and the dread of invasion were acute, and the end of the suspense only came with the news of the victory of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805).

This battle was only brought about after two years' manœuvring. Napoleon sent Villeneuve with a French and Spanish fleet to attack the West Indies, in the

hope that the British fleet would pursue him, thus leaving the Channel inadequately protected. The French fleet was then to manœuvre back and escort the army of invasion to England. The genius of Nelson, however, detected this plan before its execution. He did indeed pursue the French ships to the West Indies, but another fleet under Sir Robert Calder was awaiting Villeneuve's return at the mouth of the Channel, and drove the French and Spanish squadrons southwards towards Cadiz. Then Nelson came up with them off Trafalgar Bay, and completely destroyed the two fleets in battle. He laid down his life in this moment of glorious victory, knowing that he had saved England.

The results of the naval victory were tremendous. It made the French invasion of England an impossibility. Napoleon had now no fleet to speak of, for out of thirty-three French and Spanish ships at Trafalgar only four had been saved. Napoleon's rage against his admirals knew no bounds, although even before the actual defeat he had realized once more that the invasion of England was impracticable.

Nothing daunted, he swiftly changed his plans and determined to strike a fresh blow upon the Continent, choosing his latest enemy Austria. By August 29, 1805, the army of invasion became the Grand Army, Napoleon broke up his camp at Boulogne, and with surprising swiftness began marching on Vienna. He defeated an Austrian army at Ulm (October 20), and in November entered Vienna. He was able to accomplish all this because the rapidity of his change of plan had taken Austria by surprise, and the best Austrian army had been already taken to Italy under the Archduke Charles. It is true that it defeated Massena at Caldiero on October 30–31,

but this could not keep Napoleon out of Vienna. And this was not the end of the matter. Napoleon successfully met a combined Russian and Austrian army at *Austerlitz*, and inflicted a severe defeat upon them (December 2). This victory was so decisive that it effectually broke up the Third Coalition, and forced Austria to make terms by the *Treaty of Pressburg* (December 26). By this treaty Austria gave up Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, and Cattaro, and recognized Napoleon as King of Italy. To Bavaria, which was made a kingdom by Napoleon, she gave up the whole of the Tyrol; Würtemberg was converted into a kingdom, and to Baden she gave up Bresgau and Constance and other outlying provinces.

Napoleon had now gained influence over nearly the whole of Germany and, as was his habit, he proceeded to set about its reconstitution. He abolished the Holy Roman Empire, and henceforward Francis II was known only as the Emperor of Austria. A league of sixteen States, to be known as the *Confederation of the Rhine*, was formed, and placed under Napoleon's protection. He hoped that this new Confederation would counterbalance the power of Austria and Prussia.

It is also significant that Napoleon soon afterwards made his brother Joseph, King of the Two Sicilies (March 1806), and Louis, another brother, King of Holland (May 1806).

All these events at last aroused the antagonism of Prussia, who had been selfishly trying to stand out of the struggle. She declared war, and contrary to all expectations she was defeated at the battle of *Jena* (October 1806), for her army proved to be showy but ineffective. After this battle she let fortress after

fortress fall into the hands of the French. By June 1807 Prussia and her ally Russia had been defeated many times, and most conspicuously in the battle of *Friedland*. The two countries were forced to acknowledge themselves defeated and to accept terms of peace at Tilsit (July 1807). Here Napoleon held his historic interview with the Tsar of Russia on a large raft moored in the middle of the river Niemen, on which was built a room with two antechambers. A contemporary English cartoon exactly hits off the political situation. In it Bonaparte is represented as hugging the Tsar, and saying, 'My dear brother, receive this fraternal embrace out of pure affection'. The Tsar is on the other hand somewhat embarrassed, because the raft is tilting violently and he is in danger of falling into the river. 'Zounds!' he exclaims, 'brother, you'll squeeze me to death, besides I find that *my* side of the raft is sinking very fast.'

It is true that Russia lost no territory by the peace, but she secretly put herself under the obligation to help Napoleon in all his schemes against England. The western lands of Prussia, moreover, were taken and made into the kingdom of Westphalia, and Polish territories, a chronic source of dissension between Russia and Prussia, were made into the independent duchy of Warsaw, and given to the King of Saxony.

The Peace of Tilsit marks the end of a distinct phase in Napoleon's policy. He had now realized that although he was all-powerful on land, Austria, Russia, and Prussia having been settled, he was still unable to beat down Great Britain by direct means. He therefore determined to carry on a trade war with her, in the hope of ruining her indirectly. With this in view (November 1806), about a month after the battle of Jena, he issued

a decree from Berlin, declaring that the British Isles were in a state of blockade; that all British merchandise was to be confiscated; that all British subjects were prisoners of war; and that there was to be no more intercourse with her. To these threats Great Britain replied with 'Orders in Council', declaring that the coasts of France and her allies were in a state of blockade, and that all ships trading with her were lawful prize which did not first call at a British port and pay dues. Napoleon replied to this by the Milan Decree (December 17, 1807), which declared that all ships which obeyed Great Britain were lawful prize. This attempt of Napoleon to formulate international law to suit his convenience in regard to taking prizes was called the 'Continental System'. Great Britain, on the other hand, stoutly maintained against him her right to seize all enemy ships, and all goods belonging to France even though in neutral vessels. The effect of the 'Continental System' on Europe was very great. Even though Napoleon did not succeed in ruining British trade, the prices of necessaries were sent up on all sides, and Napoleon's determination to enforce his decrees led him into war in every corner of Europe.

There were now only two countries in Europe besides Great Britain which were not under Napoleon's influence, viz. Denmark and Portugal, but even these were in a parlous condition. In 1807 the British Government obtained secret information that Napoleon was about to seize the Danish fleet for his own purposes, and without waiting for this actually to happen, demanded its surrender. When this was indignantly refused, our fleet bombarded Copenhagen and captured the whole Danish fleet with the exception of one ship which was stranded. This action of the British Government has been

severely criticized and as uncompromisingly defended on the grounds of expediency. But in these recent years of the Great War we have seen only too clearly German expediency claiming to justify dishonesty. The blood of Belgium will cry out down all the ages against those who defend their acts on this one plea alone.

On the other hand, there was no question for us as to the friendly attitude of Portugal, for Great Britain and Portugal had for long been allies and a profitable trade existed between the two countries. The Portuguese Government paid no heed to the Berlin decrees, though the country was no match for the strength of France. This defiance now furnished Napoleon with an excuse for the invasion of Portugal. In October and November 1807 the country was overrun with French troops, and to make matters worse for the Portuguese, Napoleon entered into the *Treaty of Fontainebleau* with Spain (October 27), by which France and Spain agreed to conquer and partition Portugal. This nefarious scheme was actually achieved. The Royal Family of Portugal fled to Brazil on November 29, and on the same day Junot entered Lisbon.

Napoleon had now made a footing in Portugal, and he soon showed that his real object was to control not only Portugal but the whole of the Peninsula. He induced the King of Spain and his son to abdicate, and placed his own brother Joseph upon the throne. Joseph had already been made King of Naples in March 1806, but now Murat, one of Napoleon's generals, replaced him there. In this way Napoleon was carrying on his general policy of furnishing the States surrounding France with rulers under his direct influence. But here we must notice one of Napoleon's fundamental errors. He found he could

deal in a high-handed manner with crowned heads, he could put them up and pull them down at his will, or shuffle them to suit his purposes; but he never reckoned sufficiently with the power of nationality. The Portuguese and Spanish people began to resent the French rule in which the governing classes acquiesced, and soon popular risings broke out, which eventually changed the whole situation and gave rise to that spirit of stubborn resistance in the Peninsula which Napoleon himself admitted brought about his downfall. 'It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me' were his own words. In July 1808 the French suffered a severe defeat at Baylen. Here General Dupont, who had been sent to put down a popular rising, capitulated with his whole army. This defeat had a tremendous influence on European opinion. It showed that the French after all were not invincible. More important than this was the fact that Great Britain now determined to send an army to Portugal. In August, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, defeated Junot at *Vimiero*; and by the *Convention of Cintra*, concluded shortly afterwards, the French were forced to evacuate Portugal.

But this was only the minor portion of the task. Napoleon, believing the situation to be serious, went himself to Spain. At first victory crowned his efforts, and in December he was able to enter Madrid. Then his attention was successfully diverted from the southern campaign by the tactics of Sir John Moore, now commanding the British forces in Portugal. Sir John Moore marched his army into Central Spain, enticing Napoleon to pursue him, whereupon he retreated to *Corunna* and was hemmed in on the coast. Here a battle

was fought in which the French suffered defeat; afterwards the British army embarked and got safely away.

After Corunna, it seemed likely that the war might come to an end, but Wellington soon came back to the Peninsula with reinforcements. He began by driving Soult out of Portugal into Spain, winning the great battle of *Talavera*, 1809. Then, reinforcements arriving from France, he was obliged to retire to Portugal (1810), where he held out behind 'the lines of Torres Vedras', three lines of improvised defence which protected the little peninsula upon which Lisbon stood. At last in 1812 he was able again to take the offensive, winning the battle of *Salamanca* (July). Six weeks later he won the battle of *Vittoria*, and afterwards was able to drive the French gradually over the Pyrenees and follow them into France.

Ever since the battle of Corunna, Napoleon himself had been occupied with other European wars. Austria had begun to make preparations for war, as a great national revolt against France was in progress. Napoleon himself left Spain, and advanced against the Austrians. He defeated them in several battles, the most important of which was *Echmuhl*; but then he himself suffered a severe defeat at *Aspern* (May 1809). He recovered himself, however, and in the battle of *Wagram* (July 1809) the Austrians were decisively beaten and forced to make the *Treaty of Vienna*. By this treaty, Francis II gave up all the coast-line of the Adriatic which remained to him in Western Galicia to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; Salzburg and the Tyrol were given to Bavaria. Austria was shorn of provinces on all sides. The lowest depth of Francis II's humiliation was reached when in 1810 he was obliged to give his daughter Marie Louise in

marriage to Napoleon, who divorced his wife Josephine. Josephine de Beauharnais was a beautiful widow, a creole, who had married Bonaparte as her second husband. Napoleon had always been devoted to her, but she had borne him no children. There is no doubt that Napoleon was by now obsessed with the ambition to be the founder of a dynasty; perhaps he had not begun his career with this hope, but, as many others who have risen to power by their own efforts, he began to crave for a vicarious immortality. Josephine is a pathetic figure, but she was not the only victim whom Napoleon sacrificed on the altar of his ambitions. Marie Louise became the mother of a son in March 1811, who received the pompous title of King of Rome. Superstitious people point to the curious fact that Napoleon's luck turned with his divorce.

Meanwhile Napoleon, as if determined to get at loggerheads with the whole world, had provoked a quarrel with the Pope about the Continental System. The Pope wished to remain neutral, but Napoleon wanted his aid in the task of ruining British commerce. To maintain the position he had taken up Napoleon sent an army to Rome, annexed it and carried the Pope as a prisoner to Fontainebleau (1809), where he lived on alms. He did not return to Rome until 1814.

Napoleon next turned upon Russia, because the Tsar having realized that the Continental System was ruining his people, had therefore refused to shut out British goods any longer. Napoleon collected an army of over half a million men, and marched into Russia to force the Tsar to keep the Treaty of Tilsit (see p. 82). The Emperor was victorious until he reached Moscow. He found the city deserted, and a few days after his entry

the Russians deliberately set fire to it. This was an act of great self-sacrifice. Moscow was one of the most ancient and beautiful cities of Russia; its sacrifice crippled the Emperor, by destroying the supplies upon which he had reckoned, more seriously than any defeat in pitched battle was likely to have done. The Emperor remained for a month in ruined Moscow, and then he was forced, from lack of supplies, to retreat with his Grand Army. In the piercing cold, with scarcely any food or shelter, and harassed by the attacks of the Cossacks, the ragged and starving remnants of the Grand Army struggled out of Russia into Germany. Napoleon himself quitted the army on its return and went back to Paris (December 1812).

A fifth coalition, of Austria, Prussia, Russia, Great Britain, and Sweden, was now formed against Napoleon. He was defeated at the battle of *Leipsic* (October 1813). He was then forced to retreat on Paris, and France was invaded on all sides. The Allies entered Paris on March 31, 1814. Napoleon was forced to abdicate. The day before he actually did this Wellington defeated Marshal Soult at *Toulouse*. After this Napoleon was sent by the Allies as a prisoner to the little island of Elba in the Mediterranean (May 4, 1814), over which he was given sovereign rights.

CHAPTER VI

THE BOURBON RESTORATION: LOUIS XVIII, 1814–24; CHARLES X, 1824–30

When Napoleon had been exiled to the island of Elba, the Allies proceeded with their project of restoring the Bourbon monarchy. It seems strange to us that after all her recent trials and struggles France should have been willing to accept a king again. It almost looked as if the blood of the Revolution had been shed in vain. This event is also a curious illustration of one of Aristotle's political theories, viz. that forms of government work out in a cycle. Thus, he says, nations proceed from monarchy to aristocracy, from aristocracy to democracy, and from democracy back to the rule of one man. Whether or no this theory be correct, the failure in France of the revolutionists almost inevitably brought about a reaction in favour of monarchy, for it was manifest to any plain man that one of the ends of all government, i. e. peace and safety, had not been obtained. The state of France at this time reminds one of Hobbes' famous picture of anarchy when 'men jostle and irregularly hew one another'. Men had begun to despair of the hope that the evils of society could find a cure simply in the rearrangement of society. Napoleon's supremacy had reaccustomed them to the idea of the rule of one man, but it had also taught them that a sudden rise to power was likely to bring restless ambition in its train. A man,

they thought, who belonged to a family accustomed to kingship was far more likely to consent to be a passive figure-head, and to bring the nation the rest it needed.

On April 10, Louis XVIII, the Bourbon King, returned to Paris. His history is interesting. He was a younger brother of Louis XVI, and Count of Provence. In the days of the Convention he had been regarded as the leader of the *émigrés*, though in point of fact he never did much to help them in any way. After the execution of Louis XVI, he proclaimed himself Regent, and King on the death of the little Dauphin. He now came to Paris, therefore, not in the spirit of a newly-appointed King, but as an outraged monarch returning to his own. If he had kept his thoughts to himself, all might have been well, but he had not enough sense to perceive this. Neither had he the grace of person nor the charm of manner which might have made men forget his deficiencies, for he was old, stout, and gouty.

However, in spite of any theories which he may have held as to the rights of kings, it was impossible for him to ignore many of the innovations which Napoleon had brought into France. For instance, he dared not attempt to restore their lands to his fellow *émigrés;* he was obliged to allow religious toleration and retain the administrative, judicial and fiscal system which had been in force under the Empire. Prudence also induced him to bestow upon his subjects a constitutional charter. He made it clear, however, that this was a beneficent gift from him and not in any way a concession. This charter proclaimed equality before the law, taxation in proportion to property, the right to personal freedom, religious toleration, the inviolability of property and the abolition of conscription. 'The King was vested

with full executive powers; he was to be assisted by two Chambers, the House of Peers and the House of Deputies. The right to initiate legislation was reserved for the King. The peers were appointed by the King either for life or with hereditary descent. Their debates were private. The Deputies were chosen by electoral colleges in the departments; they had to be 40 years old, and the property qualification was 1,000 francs in direct taxation. The qualification for electors was 300 francs. The King had the right to prorogue and convoke the Assembly.'

This charter was issued on June 4, and on the same day was published the First Treaty of Paris, although, as a matter of fact, this had been signed on May 30. The charter dealt with internal, the treaty with external affairs. It may be noticed that in each case Louis XVIII was on very different ground; by the charter he gave conditions, by the treaty he accepted them. He received the support of the Allies on the following terms: France gave up all her conquests, except for some slight acquisitions in the neighbourhood of Savoy; the works of art which had been nefariously accumulated by Napoleon in his wars were, with a few exceptions, allowed to remain in Paris; Great Britain retained the West Indian colonies; French Guiana was restored by Portugal to France. This treaty was highly unpopular in France. It was felt to be humiliating, and without doubt it was one of the causes of the disaffection which so soon grew up against the Bourbons.

The Bourbons had been replaced on the throne by a wave of reaction, and they entirely failed to realize that sooner or later the ebb must come. Louis XVIII

now began to do much that was incredibly foolish and tactless. Public opinion in France was in a sensitive condition, and it was well said that the Bourbons 'had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing' in their exile. To urge Louis to greater follies there was always at his side his brother Charles, Duc d'Artois, afterwards Charles X. This man had even more bigoted views on the inherent rights of kings than Louis XVIII, and he was entirely unable to grasp what is meant by compromise. It is useless to enter into a long recital of their eccentric and stupid behaviour. A few instances will suffice. The household troops were revived, presumably to defend the monarch from his people; the white cockade of the Bourbons was brought into general use; fêtes were held in honour of Georges Cadoudal; the bones of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were brought to Saint Denis. Moreover, the King's encouragement of the clergy led to the belief that the Church lands which had by now been cut up into small farms were about to be restored to their former owners.

During this time a Congress was being held in Vienna to carry out the reconstruction of Europe, and to settle the many disputes which had arisen out of the wars of the last quarter of a century. It was a wonderful assembly of monarchs and ministers. There was Francis I, Emperor of Austria, Alexander I of Russia, Frederick William III of Prussia. Among the ministers were Metternich from Austria, Nesselrode from Russia, Hardenburg from Prussia, Castlereagh from England, and Talleyrand, who had cleverly joined the assembly on the plea that he represented France and not Napoleon, and should be included on this score. The Congress held its first meeting in September 1814. It was

received with great magnificence, and entertained with such brilliant feasting and amusement that Austria was woefully in debt for years afterwards.

Whilst the Congress was in the midst of its labours, Napoleon, adroitly estimating the general dissatisfaction with the Bourbons in France, escaped from Elba and landed in France at Fréjus in Provence (March 1, 1815).

He was received with extraordinary fervour and enthusiasm, and made his way to Paris, men flocking eagerly to his banner all the while. Louis XVIII soon made up his mind to flee. 'On the night of March 19, Louis XVIII left the Tuileries for the Belgian frontier; all the following night an expectant crowd lingered round the palace; in the silence of the early morning the gallop of horses and the rumbling of wheels was heard; a swaying carriage surrounded by lancers swung through the streets to the carriage entrance: torches sputtered in the drizzle and lit up the olive face and now ponderous frame of Napoleon. The Emperor had returned to his capital.'

Napoleon lost no time. He swiftly set up a temporary Government and collected an army. The Allies, conveniently in consultation at Vienna, determined with one accord to oppose him. On June 18, 1815, the British and the Prussians under Wellington and Blücher met him on the field of *Waterloo* and gained an immortal victory. Napoleon fled to Paris on June 21. Here he was again forced to abdicate, having ruled for what is called 'the Hundred Days'. Then he left Paris for Rochefort and took ship for America, but, being pursued by British cruisers, he at length gave himself up to the captain of the *Bellerophon*. This

ship conveyed him to England, and finally he was imprisoned in St. Helena. Here he dragged out an irksome existence until he died in 1821. An interesting description of his life on St. Helena may be found in *Napoleon: the last Phase*, by Lord Rosebery.

Napoleon was a man who captured the imagination of Europe, and not without reason. Among men of action he was a genius. He had an intellect which was as keen as a razor. His swift power of mind could extract the essentials of a subject at a glance, and, on the other hand, grasp and retain the smallest details—a rare combination of intellectual qualities. It was in this respect that Napoleon was truly great. But there is another side to his character, which made him in his day the curse of Europe. He was not content to spend his energies on reform and reconstruction, but he was obsessed by the desire to satisfy his incredible vanity and overweening ambition. He was ruthless in his pursuit of petty distinctions of rank and titles: no amount of experience or success seemed to teach him the lesson of the prophet that 'All is vanity'. He could never get enough marks of honour. It is easy to understand his passion for action, but his vulgar desire for recognition in the most primitive ways and his inability to feel the sufferings of others are traits ordinarily so incompatible with mental greatness that he will always be something of an enigma to the historian.

On July 8, 1815, Louis XVIII was restored a second time by the Allies to the throne of France with Talleyrand as his minister. This time he determined to make his position quite sure; being lazy both in body and mind, he was not one who would be willing to risk his

throne for his principles, ' le trône n'étant pour lui que le plus moelleux des fauteuils ', as has been aptly said. He, therefore, issued a declaration from Cambrai, frankly acknowledging the mistakes of the First Restoration, and he would probably have walked in the path of a respectable constitutional monarch had he not been surrounded by a court and by relatives who clamoured incessantly for signs and tokens of supreme regal authority.

It was inevitable that soon after his return, those who had aided and abetted Napoleon in the ' Hundred Days ' should be punished by the Government. This action encouraged private enterprise in this direction. Unauthorized vengeance began to raise its head in the south of France. In July and August of the year of restoration armed resistance against the Bonapartists and revolutionists broke out, and disorder and lawlessness were rife. Murder, pillage, and all the horrors of civil war were only too common. Armed bands of men roamed about the country, hunting down suspected adherents to the Emperor. These disorders were suppressed by the Government with great severity, for it seemed at first as if the revolutionary times had returned. The whole episode was known as the ' White Terror '.

Immediately after Louis' second restoration he had dissolved the Chamber of Deputies. The elections for the new Assembly were completed in September, when it was shown that the electors had chosen a majority of *ultras*, as the extreme partisans of the monarchy were now called. This particular Chamber of Deputies, because of its Royalist tendencies, earned the name of ' La Chambre Introuvable ', an epithet which has been translated ' too good to be true '. Such a Chamber

could not work with Talleyrand, who was an admirer of the English constitutional monarchy; so in the same month he perforce retired, and his place was taken by the Duc de Richelieu (September 25, 1815 to December, 1818), who inherited a difficult task, for he had to conclude an agreement with the Allies and to endeavour to raise France from the humiliating position among the Powers of Europe into which she had fallen. As a negotiator with the Allies Richelieu was more acceptable than Talleyrand. For one thing, he was on good terms with Alexander I, because he had lived for twenty-four years in Russia as governor of Odessa, whereas Talleyrand had always been in bad favour with the Tsar, who suspected his powers of insinuating intrigue.

On November 20, 1815, the *Second Peace of Paris* was signed. The terms were humiliating, it is true, but at the moment there was no other possible alternative for France. The acquisitions round Savoy which had been gained under the First Peace were returned to Italy; seventeen fortresses on the northern and eastern borders of France were to be garrisoned for five years at the expense of the Allies; France paid 700,000,000 francs for the expenses of the war, and restored the works of art accumulated during the late wars; Wellington, with an army of 150,000 men, was to remain in France; representatives of the Allies were appointed to watch the Government in Paris. This was the letter of the law.

The Duc de Richelieu now made it his work to secure some mitigation of these terms. He was a man eminently suited to the task, as he was disinterested and loyal. Success waited on him, and in 1818 he

achieved his object. On October 8, at the *Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle*, France was freed from the supervision of the Allies; the army of occupation was removed, and France was recognized once more as one of the Great Powers of Europe.

Meanwhile the Chamber of Deputies had resolved itself into well-defined parties. The *ultras*, the extreme Royalist party, wished for an absolute monarchy. Their aim was to give more power to the Church and to muzzle the press. At the opposite extreme was the *Independent* party, who favoured a Republic and wished in any case to bind the King with more restrictions than the charter had imposed. Between these two parties were *Les Doctrinaires*, that is the moderate Royalists, who wished to abide by the letter of the charter and who desired a constitutional monarch. This latter party gradually became predominant, and Richelieu, finding that the Chamber grew more and more revolutionary, resigned. In December 1818, his place was taken by the Dessoles-Decazes Ministry.

Fresh elections for the Chamber were held in 1819, and at them the Abbé Grégoire, a notorious revolutionist, was returned as deputy. This event was extremely significant of the trend of public opinion. Grégoire had approved of the execution of the King and the Civil Constitution of the clergy. Consequently he was not allowed to take his seat. Dessoles retired in the face of this disturbance, and Decazes was left at the head of the ministry. An unforeseen event now occurred which brought about a violent Royalist reaction.

In February, 1820, the Duc de Berri, son of the Comte d'Artois and heir-presumptive to the throne, was

assassinated. This murder was not, as might be supposed, the result of an intrigue. The Duc de Berri was entering his carriage when he was attacked by a labouring man, a known fanatic. He died a few hours later. The impression this deed made in France was as deep as if it had been the result of a premeditated plot, and the Royalists, among them the Comte d'Artois, made much political capital out of it. Decazes was forced to resign, and the Duc de Richelieu again returned to office. From this time onward, the Government became more and more reactionary. Richelieu was minister until 1821, and he was succeeded by another Royalist, Villèle, who remained in office until December 1827.

Louis XVIII himself died in 1824. He was followed by his brother Charles X, Comte D'Artois, who was, as we have seen, far more reactionary than Louis in all his ideas. His chief desires were to restore the *ancien régime*, and to re-establish monarchy with all its mediaeval trappings. His accession was not greeted with signs of dissatisfaction because he possessed a certain charm of manner which at first disarmed criticism. To carry out his scheme Charles found it necessary to have the support of the Church. For this purpose he was anointed and crowned at the cathedral of Rheims, with all the ancient rites (May 29). Even before this to the shrewd observer Charles had shown his hand. At once he began to dabble with a scheme to indemnify the *émigrés*, which he called a 'great act of justice and of policy', thus ignoring the fact that the *émigrés* had left France of their own free will, and that they had conspired against the King and the nation on the frontiers of France. In spite of all opposition this decree was passed (April 1825).

Then he returned again to his policy of supporting the Church. A law was passed re-establishing monastic institutions for women; this was but the thin end of the wedge, for it was obvious that the law would sooner or later be extended to similar institutions for men. Again on April 25, 1825, was passed the Law of Sacrilege; this was designed to prevent discussion on religious matters, and was but the first instalment of a code of religious laws. This particular law dealt with actual deeds of sacrilege. It decreed that thefts of church vessels should be punished by the galleys, the violent burglary of a church by death, and so forth.

Furthermore, an attempt on the part of Villèle to legalize the rights of primogeniture with regard to land began to arouse an active opposition; men saw in this a deliberate attempt to revive the large estates of the nobles as in the days of the *ancien régime*. Again, the Jesuits were given permission to return to France and to teach in the seminaries (August 1828), and a press law was made so severe that it was ironically called the 'law of justice and love'; this law, however, was obliged to be withdrawn. It had stated that five days before publication, all writings which emanated from the press were to be submitted to the Government, in order that they might be examined. Circulation was permitted only to those that had the Government stamp.

This failure warned Villèle that a storm of opposition might burst at any moment. However, in spite of these omens (April 29, 1827), the National Guard, a possible centre of disaffection, was disbanded, and a Royal Order was issued establishing a censorship over all journals and periodical writings. This was the last

straw, and on December 5, 1827, Villèle was obliged to resign. He was succeeded by Martignac, a moderate. But even Martignac was unable to work with the King, and in 1829 he was dismissed in favour of Paul de Polignac, who was a thoroughgoing reactionist. The Government became more and more unpopular, in spite of the fact that in 1830 France acquired Algiers in a successful war. The crash came at last when on July 26, 1830, the King issued the *Ordinances of St. Cloud*, in foolish disregard of public opinion. These (1) suspended the freedom of the press; (2) annulled the elections which had just taken place; and (3) modified the electoral law in the interests of the landowners. The day after these ordinances were published, Thiers, a young journalist, with others drew up a statement that the ordinances were illegal. The mob rose in Paris. Polignac entrusted the defence of the capital to Marshal Marmont, but by the 30th Paris was in their hands.

Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, was now proclaimed King. On the 31st Charles X abdicated. Incredible as it may seem, this climax had come upon him as a surprise. On August 18 he fled to England. Soon afterwards he was accommodated in Holyrood Castle. Two years' residence in Scotland were sufficient to make him dislike the people and the climate; accordingly he migrated to Austria, where he lived until his death in 1836. It is interesting to read the opinion of a contemporary monarch of these two Kings, Louis XVIII and Charles X. The King of the Belgians, writing to our Princess Victoria in 1836, says: 'He [Charles X] was blinded by certain absolute ideas, but a good man, and deserving to be loved. History will

state that Louis XVIII was a most liberal monarch, reigning with great mildness and justice to his end, but that his brother, from his despotic and harsh disposition, upset all that the other had done, and lost the throne. Louis XVIII was a clever, hard-hearted man, shackled by no principle, very proud and false. Charles X, an honest man, a kind friend, an honourable master, sincere in his opinions, and inclined to do everything that is right.' History has not judged exactly as the King of the Belgians predicted.

CHAPTER VII

LOUIS PHILIPPE 1830–48
THE ORLÉANS MONARCHY OR THE JULY MONARCHY

Louis Philippe was first proclaimed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; afterwards his title was changed by the Chamber of Deputies to that of King. He was at this time a man of fifty-seven, the son of that Louis-Philippe-Joseph the Duc d'Orléans who was formerly celebrated under the title of 'Egalité'. He had gained a reputation as a good soldier in Revolutionary times. Unfortunately, when Dumouriez fell under the suspicion of conspiring against France, Louis Philippe was credited with being his accomplice. He, therefore, prudently fled from France, lest he should be proscribed, living first in Switzerland and then in England. In the days of the First Revolution, he returned to France. He was by nature a homely man, a stout bourgeois in appearance, and it now suited him to take up the rôle of the friend of the middle class. Contemporaries like to describe how he promenaded the streets of Paris unattended, 'la parapluie sous le bras' just like an ordinary citizen. Almost inevitably, 'the Citizen King' became his nickname. His hearty, bluff manners were unsuited to formal ceremonies; his Queen, Marie Amélie of Sicily, seems to have shared her husband's attitude in society. When guests came to the Royal palace, she did not lay aside her needlework, and the atmosphere of the Tuileries was that of a middle-class

home. Even their sons were educated at the ' collège Henri Quatre ', mixing on friendly terms with the sons of the bourgeoisie. All this parade of equality brought in its train a certain measure of popularity but, on the other hand, it had the effect of dispersing, once and for all, the glamour which had hitherto surrounded the monarchy in France. The situation has been wittily summed up thus : ' Ichabod ! Ichabod ! The veil of the monarchy was rent, its holy of holies exposed ; the people had peeped and seen, instead of a mystery, a gentleman in plain clothes, with an umbrella under his arm and a head shaped like a pear '.

If it was hard to account for the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, it is, perhaps, even more difficult to explain why, having turned out Charles X, the French people should have acquiesced, even grudgingly, in the rule of Louis Philippe. He was not the legitimate heir, he was not the choice of the people. The only explanation can be that they wished for a monarchy, but not for a monarch with the ideas of Charles X. Apparently they thought they had found such a man in Louis Philippe, but his only recommendation was that he had a tradition behind him, lurking in his father's name ' Egalité ' ; this tradition was not even founded on fact because neither Louis Philippe nor his father had ever been the true friends of constitutionalism nor, indeed, of any extension, however small, of the rights of democracy. In reality, Louis Philippe came to the throne with the same old-fashioned stock of ideas about kingship which had been the undoing of Charles X, denuded, it is true, of the religious trappings which had graced the political system of his predecessor. It was a strange misreading of character that placed Louis Philippe on

the throne to fill a gap and to meet a crisis, and it took the French nation eighteen years to decide that they had not got in him the man they wanted.

Louis' position as King was in no sense the same as that of Charles X. Almost immediately after he received the title of King, his authority was restricted. The right of exclusive initiation in the matter of laws was taken from him; Catholicism, the main support of the theory of the divine right of kings, was disestablished; the censorship of the press was abolished. Louis accepted these changes from policy and not from conviction.

It must not be imagined that even at the beginning of the reign Louis received the unanimous support of public opinion. Political creeds at this epoch were many, but four chief parties were predominant. There were the *Legitimists*, who thought that a member of the old house of Bourbon should inherit the throne. They said with truth that Charles X had abdicated in favour of his grandson, Henri, Comte de Chambord, the son of that Duc de Berri who had been assassinated in 1820; they contended that Louis had been set on the throne by a group of 219 politicians, the mere fraction of the Chamber of Deputies which happened to be present at his election; thus he was neither the real heir to the throne nor the choice of the nation. Charles X had only meant him to be Lieutenant-General until the little Duke was of an age to act for himself. Then, again, there were the *Constitutionalists*, who wanted a monarchy like that of England, and the *Republicans*, who would have done away with a King altogether. These latter worked with secret societies, and more than once attempted to take the life of the King. Finally, there were the *Bona-*

partists, who wanted to place a member of Napoleon's family on the throne.

One of the chief features of this reign is the growth of the Napoleonic legend. France had barely ceased punishing those who had supported Bonaparte in the 'Hundred Days' when a cult of hero-worship arose, the political force of which has perhaps never been equalled. The fact that in 1840 the bones of Napoleon were begged from the British Government, brought from St. Helena, and buried with pomp in Les Invalides, is symbolical of the growth of this idea. Thus, after nineteen long years, France buried her hero in Paris, the centre of her political life. This was the only honour she could now pay him. Maybe it was done with a sigh of proud relief, but the relief soon gave way and pride alone remained embodied in a vigorous tradition of his might.

Through this stream of conflicting opinions, Louis Philippe set his course for safety. At home, he resisted all efforts on the part of democracy to invade his powers. The result was that in time he was unable to sympathize with and so to control the aims of those whose social teaching was beginning to disturb France. His reign was a time of great economic distress. France was going through the same sort of change as England in the eighteenth century. The migration of the agricultural population to towns for the purpose of working in factories and the introduction of machinery had brought about many of the complications of modern city life, and socialism, a product of the First Revolution, became for many the only solution of these difficulties. Four names stand out as the pioneers of a new socialism, Babœuf, St. Simon, Fourier, and Louis Blanc. Of these Louis Blanc was the most practical. He wanted the

means of production to be owned by the State. His theory was that every man should be paid according to his needs, and work according to his faculties. It is a pity that Louis Blanc did not put the latter part of his programme first and make everybody work as they should. A man who could find the means to cast out sloth, low content and selfishness from this society of ours should indeed be hailed as a benefactor to humanity. This problem is as old as the riddle of the universe, and it is still unsolved. We shall see how the other part of his programme was tried in 1848 and failed. Whether we agree with their theories or no is here irrelevant. The point to grasp is that the condition of the working classes in France was wretched. Work was scarce, wages were low. Labour questions were bound to come to the fore, and the riots in Lyons about the wages of the silk workers in 1832 and in 1834 were but typical of the unrest of these years.

If in his home policy Louis Philippe failed because he was out of sympathy with the ideals of his day, he was for the same reason reckoned unsuccessful by his contemporaries in his foreign policy. It has been said with truth that ' the Frenchman holds that the State, no less than the individual, should seek renown (*la gloire*) in performing " deeds of noble note ". The French conception of glory has been modified from one age to another, sometimes for the worse, sometimes for the better. But, until comparatively recent times, the noble deeds expected of a powerful French Government were always deeds of war, to be accomplished in the name of some cherished national ideal '. Louis Philippe had no intention of seeking ' la gloire '. His motto might well have been ' safety above all things ', and this,

to an age of Frenchmen who had seen a Napoleon, seemed shameful in the extreme. France, once held to be the sponsor of liberty, refused to hear cries for succour from Belgium, Poland, and Italy. On this count alone, to his contemporaries, Louis Philippe must have appeared a renegade. To us, in a generation which has tasted the horrors of war, this judgment appears unfair, for by his policy he broke no promise and he deserted no friend. We think with Queen Victoria who, writing of him in 1848, said: 'The poor King and his Government made many mistakes within the last two years, and were obstinate and totally blind at the last till flight was inevitable. But for sixteen years he did a great deal to maintain peace and made France prosperous, which should *not* be forgotten.'

Louis Philippe was served by many ministers, but with none of them did he appear to be in complete sympathy save with Molé, a man of reactionary tendencies (1837–9). Two names are pre-eminent in the long list of those who came and went in his service—Guizot and Thiers. Louis Adolphe Thiers (1797–1877) was a native of Marseilles, of bourgeois origin and Greek extraction. He was a journalist by profession and had come to Paris in 1821, rising to fame by his press attacks on the Bourbon dynasty. He was a supporter of the Orléanist monarchy, though in opposition to Guizot and the Duc de Broglie, the more conservative supporters of Louis Philippe. Nevertheless, in 1848, when the monarchy had fallen and the provisional government failed, Thiers voted for Louis Napoleon and thus provoked much criticism. He will always be remembered, however, as the man who guided France in the dreadful days after the collapse of 1870. He was President of

the Third Republic, 1871–3. His influence was due entirely to his intellectual powers. He had no personal charms, being very short and plain-looking, ungainly in his movements, short-sighted, with a disagreeable voice.

François Pierre Guizot (1787–1874) was also a man of bourgeois extraction. He received his education in Switzerland. In politics, as we have seen, he was more conservative than Thiers, to whom he was generally opposed. Guizot was a historian of great renown, and he was admired in England because of his researches into the history of our country. During the reign of Louis Philippe, he served in many ministries and, to a great extent, he founded the existing educational system of France. Guizot was chief minister in the last eight years of the reign (1840–8).

On July 13, 1842, an unfortunate accident happened which after events proved to be the indirect cause of the downfall of the monarchy. The Duc d'Orléans, the eldest son of the King, was thrown from his phaeton and killed. The Queen of the Belgians describes the death of her brother in a letter to Queen Victoria thus: 'The horses ran away; he had the unfortunate idea to jump out from his barouche—a thing I cannot understand, as he had on all occasions an uncommon presence of mind—fell upon his head and expired a few hours afterwards in the presence of my too unfortunate parents, without having recovered his consciousness. It is the greatest misfortune that could happen to us.' These last words are literally true, for it raised the whole question of the succession to the monarchy. This event gave great encouragement to the Bonapartists. The Legitimists had by now lost hope, for in 1832 the Duchesse de Berri had made an invasion of Brittany in

favour of her son, the Comte de Chambord, which proved unsuccessful.

The machinations of Louis Napoleon, the nephew and heir to the claims of the great Napoleon, were, however, really serious. Napoleon Bonaparte's only son died in 1832. Louis Napoleon, the son of Napoleon's brother, Louis, King of Holland, and Hortense Beauharnais, was born in 1808. He had been sedulously educated in the Napoleonic tradition, and firmly believed that it was his destiny one day to rule France. He made two attempts at an invasion of France, in 1836 from Strasburg, and in 1840 from Boulogne. Both of these attempts failed ignominiously, and after the last escapade he was taken prisoner and shut up in the castle of Ham. In 1847, however, he escaped and came to England, from which country he was an interested spectator of French politics.

Louis Philippe had for so long set his face against electoral reform that his unpopularity had by 1842 become firmly established. It would indeed have needed consummate skill to walk warily among the pitfalls which awaited him, and he was getting an old man. In 1846 he took an extremely foolish step in regard to Spanish politics, which placed him at once in the bad books of England and of most respectable people in his own country.

The question of finding husbands for Queen Isabella of Spain and her sister was one which had been for a long time under discussion. In 1846 the Queen married her cousin, Don Francesco de Asis, and, on the same day, the Duc de Montpensier, the son of Louis Philippe, married her sister. The last marriage united the Spanish and the French Bourbons. This was a distinct

breach of faith, because both Louis Philippe and Guizot had undertaken with Great Britain that his son should not marry the Spanish Queen's sister until the Queen herself was married and had an heir. This 'disgraceful' affair, as Queen Victoria calls it, nearly made a breach with England. Writing to the King of the Belgians, she says: 'Our conduct has been throughout honest, and the King's and Guizot's the contrary. How the King can wantonly throw away the friendship of one who has stood by him with such sincere affection, for a doubtful object of personal and family aggrandizement, is to me and the whole country inexplicable. Have confidence in him I fear I never can again, and Peel, who is here on a visit, says a war may arise at any moment, once that the good understanding is disturbed; think, then, that the King has done this in his 74th year and leaves this inheritance to his successor, and to whom?—to a grandchild and a minor!'

The King had now disgusted all supporters, and events came to a climax in the early part of the year 1848. The cry for reform was insistent throughout the country, and for this purpose 'reform banquets' were being held, their object being to educate the mass of the people. On February 22, a banquet which had been arranged in Paris was forbidden by the Government. Afterwards it was agreed by the Opposition and the Ministry that this event should be used as a test case, and that the issue should be decided in the law courts. However, the Government went back upon its word and ultimately forbade the holding of the banquet. On account of this the mob was stirred up and excited by students and secret societies, and Guizot's impeachment was proposed on February 22 by Odilon Barrot, leader of the Opposi-

tion. When it became obvious to the King that his troops were disaffected he, at the eleventh hour, hoped to turn the situation by dismissing Guizot. Therefore, at 3 p.m. on February 23, Guizot announced that he had resigned. Unfortunately, shortly afterwards there was a collision between the mob and the soldiers led by a Royalist officer. In the evening of the same day the city was illuminated, and there was a demonstration in front of Guizot's house. Some one fired a pistol; the soldiers retaliated with a volley, and fifty-two persons fell dead. This event sealed the fate of the King. On the 24th the National Guard and the mob marched on the Tuileries, determined to take the life of the King. This was prevented by one of the officers, however, hastily drawing up an act of abdication. The King at first refused to sign it, saying he would rather die, but his son, the Duc de Montpensier, urged him to do so to save his country from falling into confusion. At last he signed it; and, as the Royal Family withdrew through the garden, he said pathetically to every one as he passed, 'J'abdique, j'abdique'. Immediately afterwards the old King and his family fled from Paris in a hackney coach and, after many adventures, escaped in a steam-packet boat from Havre to Newhaven. Mr. Featherstonhaugh, the English consul at Havre, describes the King's embarkation, which he had negotiated, in an excellent letter to Lord Palmerston; Lord Palmerston, vigorous as he was, delighting in the hairbreadth escapes of the King, described it as being 'like one of Sir Walter Scott's best tales'. The letter says: 'At last came the King, disguised, his whiskers shaved off, a sort of casquette on his head, and a coarse overcoat, and immense goggles over his eyes. Not being able to see well, he

stumbled when I advanced, took his hand and said: 'Ah, dear uncle, I am delighted to see you'. Upon which he answered, 'My dear George, I am glad you are here'. Mr. Featherstonhaugh goes on to say: 'But my dear uncle talked so loudly and so much that I had the greatest difficulty to make him keep silence.'

Arrived in England, the King and Queen took the title of the Comte and Comtesse de Neuilly. The Government decided 'that the sacred duties of hospitality would be in all things performed towards persons of all opinions, but on the distinct understanding that it did not imply help to recover the Crown'. Queen Victoria received them, 'humbled poor people they looked', with every sympathy, but she felt obliged to say, when writing to her personal friend, the Queen of the Belgians, the daughter of the exiled royalties, 'if a Government' (i. e. in France) 'which has the approbation of the country be formed, we shall feel it necessary to recognize it, in order to pin them down to maintain peace and the existing Treaties, which is of great importance. It will not be pleasant for us to do this', she adds, 'but the public good and the peace of Europe must go before one's feelings'. Queen Victoria felt that the person to blame for the catastrophe was Guizot. He, too, had fled to England, and here he remained, living at Brompton awhile until it was safe for him to return to his home in Normandy.

Louis Philippe lived at Claremont as a country gentleman, and died on August 26, 1850.

CHAPTER VIII

LOUIS NAPOLEON: PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, 1848–52; EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, 1852–70

The year 1848, 'the year of revolutions', was fraught with important events for France as for most of the other countries of Europe. The days between February 24, when Louis Philippe signed his abdication, and December 2, when Louis Napoleon was elected President of the French Republic, were crammed with interesting and critical events. Louis abdicated early in the afternoon of February 24 in favour of his little grandson, the Comte de Paris; later in the same day the Duchesse d'Orléans, taking with her her little son, in company with her brother-in-law, the Duc de Nemours, bravely made her way through the rough crowds of Paris to the Chamber of Deputies sitting at the Corps Législatif. Here she tried in vain to press the claims of her son, for the mob of Paris were in no mood to support a continuation of the monarchy. Thus, when the report spread that the Deputies were considering the project, a clamour for a republic was raised and there was a mad rush of the mob to overthrow the Deputies. 'A bas la Régence! A bas les corrumpus!' they shouted again and again, meaning that they would have neither the Regency of the Duchesse d'Orléans nor the government of the Chamber of Deputies. The Deputies in alarm gave way before this clamour, and the Orléans family

was declared deposed. A Provisional Government was immediately set up, though the republic was not proclaimed until later.

Meanwhile, a rival assembly was being held at the Hôtel de Ville by the mob. The place was significant, for, as has been pointed out, it was by now the recognized home of revolutionary governments. Here the mob, under the leadership of Louis Blanc and other advanced Republicans, set up a Committee of Public Safety without reference to the doings of the Deputies.

At first it seemed as if there might have been a serious conflict between these two bodies, and this probably would have occurred had not the Deputies taken the wise step of proceeding to the Hôtel de Ville in order to get the Provisional Government proclaimed by the people. In the end, after prolonged consultation, the Second Republic was established. Representatives of the popular party at the Hôtel de Ville were admitted to the administration.

The most important members of the Government were now Lamartine, Louis Blanc, and Ledru Rollin. Lamartine was of all the Republicans the most moderate. In theory he had always supported republicanism, but at this crisis he had at first wavered before giving it his adherence, doubting whether France was at the moment ready for this particular form of government. He was at this time extremely popular and already famous as the author of the *History of the Girondins*. Of Louis Blanc we have already heard. Ledru Rollin was a journalist who had worked with Louis Blanc. In his writings he had laid stress upon the hardships of the working man's lot and, like Louis Blanc, he had clamoured for social reform. These men had much to do. All Paris

was in an uproar. Louis Blanc gives a picture of the ferment and disorder in the city when he tells how he made his way through the crowd to the Hôtel de Ville. He pushed his way through the press, until 'some robust workmen, fearing lest I should be crushed, on account of my diminutive stature, lifted me up and carried me on their shoulders to the Hôtel de Ville, crying out, "Make room for a member of the Provisional Government to pass"'. Louis Blanc goes on to say, 'Outside, all along the lobbies, and in the courts of the Hôtel de Ville, there was, of course, a Babel of uproar and conflicting clamours. Some shouted unceasingly "Vive la République". Others with an extraordinary mixture of candid enthusiasm and menacing frenzy, chanted the Marseillaise. The courts, encumbered with horses riderless, wounded men lying in straw, half-distracted lookers-on, wild speakers, and workmen waving flags, presented the three-fold sight of a field hospital, a field of battle, and a camp.'

Order was, however, soon restored. The revolution seemed to be the swiftest France had ever known, and the bloodshed comparatively trifling. Nevertheless, the very next day (February 25) an angry mob marched to the Hôtel de Ville, bearing a red flag, and demanding social reforms and 'the right to work'. The workmen insisted that the new government should set about finding practical remedies for the want, lack of work, and poverty which were troubling France. The immediate consequence of this demonstration was that a Ministry of Progress and Labour was set up and some of Louis Blanc's theories were put into practice by it. National workshops were established to provide work for all who could not obtain it elsewhere. Unhappily,

the results of these well-meaning schemes were as disastrous as could have been expected by the most pessimistic critics. In the first place, so numerous were the applicants that it was hard to find enough work for them. Again, men were tempted by the good wages to throw up their ordinary work. This, of course, resulted in serious dislocation of trade. At last, the logic of events and lack of money compelled the Government to put an end to the experiment. This infuriated the Socialists, and they at once resorted to force. Barricades were set up in the streets; and after four days of disorder and severe fighting (June 23–6) they were suppressed—not until, however, the Government had been forced to appoint General Cavaignac as Dictator and to banish more than two thousand of the rebels to Algiers. At last, when peace was restored, the Assembly proceeded to draw up a constitution, the chief point of interest being the decision that the President should in future be elected by a plebiscite, that is, by a direct vote of the people.

Louis Napoleon's name now began to be mentioned as a possible candidate for the Presidency. He had visited Paris from England after the abdication of Louis Philippe, but, on being requested by the Provisional Government to leave the country, he was obliged to retire again, because there was still an unrepealed law banishing all the members of the Bonaparte family from France. However, we have seen that, in spite of this, his popularity gradually increased. At last, after having been again and again elected to the Assembly, he was encouraged to return once more to France. On December 10, he was declared President by the votes of five million out of seven million citizens. General Cavaignac

and Lamartine, who were other possible candidates, came nowhere near him in the number of the votes polled. It was an extraordinary instance of the influence of the name of Napoleon, for Louis Napoleon had no qualities to distinguish him from other men.

Encouraged by his success, his ambitions rose above the Presidency. He now began a course of cunning worldly wisdom, keeping himself well before the public eye and posing as the champion of the people's interests. Then, when the moment was ripe, on December 2, 1851, he executed his *coup d'état*. All the prominent men in Paris who were likely to oppose him were arrested, the Chamber of Deputies was guarded by troops, the newspapers were suppressed, and placards were issued announcing that the Assembly was dissolved and that a new government would be set up.

According to Louis' proposed constitution, there was to be a legislative assembly voted for by universal suffrage, with a President elected for ten years. This scheme was eventually accepted by a majority of seven million votes; and a majority of over seven million voted that Louis should take the title of Emperor, which he did on December 2, 1852.

Louis Napoleon was determined not to make the same mistake in his foreign policy as Louis Philippe. Not only was he determined to seek 'la gloire', but he sought also to revive in war the traditions of the Great Napoleon, and in it to provide distractions for his people. Accordingly, his reign was occupied mainly with wars. The four chief have been succinctly described as follows: 'the war unprofitable in the Crimea, the war hypocritical in Italy, the war disgraceful in Mexico, the war

catastrophic at Sedan'. It is worth while to follow these headings.

In 1854 he became immersed in a war with Russia in the Crimea with Great Britain as his ally. The cause of the war was the ambition of the Tsar of Russia, Nicholas I, who wished to conquer the Turkish dominions in order to secure a base for his fleet in the Mediterranean. The Tsar brought about a quarrel with Turkey, demanding from the Sultan that he should be made protector of the Greek Christians in Turkey, on the plea that they were ill used. Turkey refused to let the Tsar interfere in her domestic affairs, and war broke out. Napoleon then persuaded Great Britain to join in the struggle in defence of the Turk. Accordingly, French and British troops went to Varna, on the west coast of the Black Sea, with the intention of turning the Tsar out of Bulgaria which he had invaded. On the arrival of the Allies at Varna, however, they found the task had already been performed by the Turks. The war then developed into an aggressive war, and preparations were made for an attack on Sebastopol, the great Russian port and arsenal, in the Crimean peninsula. The hardships endured by the Allies were exceedingly severe. The expedition was badly equipped and the officers were often incapable; but, in spite of these drawbacks, great glory was won by the indomitable bravery of the Allies in the battle of the Alma, the charge of Balaclava, and the battle of Inkerman. Finally, siege was laid to Sebastopol, which held out from October 1854 until September 1855. The war was brought to an end in 1856 by the Treaty of Paris, March 3. Turkey was maintained as an independent Power, and the Black Sea was declared

neutral, which meant that neither Russia nor any other Power might keep ships of war on it. None of the important clauses of the Treaty of Paris were maintained for more than twenty years, and the results of the Crimean War certainly did not compensate for the bloodshed it had entailed. France lost 95,000 men, England 20,000, not counting those who were discharged on account of wounds or who died from disease.

If the Crimean War, then, was unprofitable, Louis Napoleon's dealings with Italy brought upon him also the charge of hypocrisy and bad faith. Italy at this time was struggling to assert herself as an independent nationality, and Louis Napoleon, by seeming to encourage this policy, and then by thwarting it, made himself appear to be playing a double game. We have seen how the great Napoleon revolutionized and stirred up the country both by driving out the native rulers, except the Kings of Naples and Piedmont who retired to their respective islands of Sicily and Sardinia, and by dividing the remainder into the Kingdom of Italy, ruled over by himself, and the Kingdom of Naples, ruled over by Murat. French rule was hated in Italy because it was hard and oppressive, and this feeling did much to encourage an intense national feeling among the Italians.

When Napoleon's power was broken and the Congress of Vienna had met, the Italians were little better off, for, although the old States, ten in number, were restored with their rulers, Austria was given the predominating power in Northern Italy, Lombardo-Venetia being given her as a kingdom. She also soon gained control over most of the northern provinces, and Italy found that she had only exchanged one

foreign yoke for another. Moreover, the Austrian rule was acknowledged to be bad even by those who were not put against it by their nationalist creed; in consequence, discontent and unrest were soon widespread. In 1820, 1821, and 1831 there were unsuccessful revolts. The freedom of Italy became a definite aim, and Mazzini founded a society called 'Young Italy', which had this as its object. In 1846 things looked more hopeful from the point of view of the reform party, for Pope Pius IX and Charles Albert, King of Piedmont and Sardinia, were both in favour of reform. The Pope afterwards, however, disavowed all intention of fighting against Austria. In 1848, risings broke out. The trouble began in Milan and Venice. These provinces rose up and drove out the Austrians and called upon Charles Albert to set himself at the head of a general rising against the foreigner. This spirit of revolt spread to Tuscany, Rome, and Sicily. An army of Piedmontese was collected by Charles Albert and faced the Austrians at Custozza, only to be defeated. Lombardy and Venice were once more in the hands of the Austrians. Charles Albert was so cast down that he abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary feeling was spreading. In Rome, Pius IX had shown his sympathy with the Liberal movement, in so far that he had granted the people a constitution, but as he was unwilling to show any sympathy with the struggle of the Italians against the Austrians, he was driven out of Rome and forced to take refuge in Naples. The Romans then set up a Republic under Mazzini. However, the Northern States were defeated at Novara (March 23, 1849), and at this point Louis Napoleon interfered with French

troops in favour of the Pope. The Roman Republic was overthrown and Pius IX was restored (June 30, 1849). This event greatly increased Louis' popularity with the clerical party in France, with whom he was anxious to stand well. But we shall see how Napoleon was induced to side against the Austrians.

A great man, Cavour, the minister of Victor Emmanuel, now took up the cause of Italy. His idea was to drive the Austrians from the country and establish a northern united kingdom under Victor Emmanuel. He knew that the forces of Italy were insufficient for this purpose and that he must, somehow or other, enlist foreign help. He determined to keep the question of Italian unity always to the fore in European politics, and indirectly to force France to come to her aid when war broke out again, as he determined it should. Fate, too, played into Cavour's hands. In January, 1858, a fanatical nationalist, Orsini, made an attempt on Louis Napoleon's life. This experience made a profound impression on the Emperor. He felt that he would never be safe until he had done something for Italy. So in the following July, when he had an interview with Cavour at Plombières, he was as wax in his hands. He agreed to help Italy, should a struggle break out with Austria. Afterwards, not a moment too soon for Cavour's plans, for Napoleon showed signs of wavering, Austria declared war on Italy (April 23, 1859). Napoleon himself led troops into Italy, and the war was at first successful, more by good luck than good generalship. The Allies won the battles of Magenta and Solferino, but in the hour of triumph, Napoleon met Francis Joseph the Emperor of Austria, at Villafranca, and made peace. The Italian patriots were filled with

disappointment and disgust at this betrayal of their interest. We know now that the physical horrors of the battle of Solferino had made a deep impression on Louis, that the slaughter of war deeply depressed him, and that he also had reason to believe that Prussia was about to mobilize against him, and that a further struggle would be hopeless.

So peace was made at Zurich (November 10, 1859). Austria kept Venice; Savoy and Nice were given to France; Modena, Parma, Tuscany and the Romagna were added to Piedmont. Cavour, feeling that the cause of Italian nationality had been betrayed by Louis, resigned and gave up the struggle, though Garibaldi and many others would willingly have fought with France at once. The Italians, however, were to attain their end without his aid and, in spite of all gloomy forebodings, Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King on March 17, 1861.

In 1863 the ambitions of Louis led him into another disgraceful episode, this time in the New World. He was anxious to get some influence in the other continent while America was in a state of civil war to counterbalance his lack of acquisitions for France in Europe and the growing power of Prussia and Italy. In 1861 the Mexican Republic, which had become involved in debts to Great Britain, France, and Spain, repudiated their claims. A joint expedition was sent against Mexico, which was not successful in forcing the payment of the debts. For various reasons, Spain and Great Britain now withdrew from the expedition, but Louis determined to persist, careless whether he aroused the antagonism of the United States with this project. He succeeded in obtaining control of the government,

and placed upon the throne the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, a gallant and upright man. Maximilian had nothing but trouble, because the United States refused to recognize his position; but his case became desperate when Napoleon decided to withdraw French support, partly because he was afraid of becoming embroiled with the United States, partly because he already perceived the cloud which was arising on the horizon of Europe. Maximilian was left to his fate. His wife, Carlotta, the daughter of the King of the Belgians, returned to Europe to make a personal appeal for help; but her efforts were in vain and the unfortunate woman gave way under the strain and lost her reason. Maximilian, broken-hearted, was betrayed in the defence of Queretaro by one of his own officers and shot. This tragedy made a profound impression on Europe.

At last, however, the foreign policy of Napoleon III brought a great disaster upon France; he allowed himself to be entrapped into a war with Prussia in 1870. Bismarck, the Chancellor of the King of Prussia, had for some time been scheming to make his country paramount in Europe; and Prussia had already quarrelled and fought with Austria and had a victorious peace. His next idea was to humble France, his only possible rival on the Continent of Europe. With this end in view, he deliberately provoked France to a quarrel, knowing that the French people are always quick to resent an insult. For some few years Napoleon had been working to indemnify the French nation for the increased power of Prussia by making some annexation of territory. He had thoughts of annexing first Belgium and then Luxemburg; he had opened negotiations with Holland about the purchase of Luxemburg

when Prussia intervened. The result was a conference at London in 1867, and a diplomatic triumph for Prussia. The neutrality of Luxemburg was declared.

This event, of course, gave rise to a feeling of soreness between Prussia and France. Then, in 1870, another question of dispute came up, the question of the succession of a Hohenzollern prince to the throne of Spain. The candidate, Prince Leopold, withdrew, but when the French ambassador went further and demanded a specific promise that Prince Leopold would not be put forward again as a candidate for the Spanish throne, a rupture came. Bismarck deliberately provoked this. The King of Prussia telegraphed to him the result of the interview at Ems with the French ambassador. Bismarck immediately on its receipt asked his generals whether they were ready for war, altered the telegram till it looked like a premeditated insult to France, and sent it to all the papers to be published. France fell into the trap prepared for her, and declared war (July 19, 1870). She was quite unprepared for the war, in spite of all the boasting of Napoleon and her generals. By the month of March in the next year, France had suffered a humiliating defeat; not only did she lose Alsace and Lorraine, but she was compelled to pay a huge indemnity, £240,000,000 in our money. The Prussians also did all they could to humiliate the French people, marching their troops through the streets of Paris and under the Arc de Triomphe, which had been set up to remind the French of the glorious victories of the Great Napoleon; and German soldiers were quartered in France till the indemnity was paid off. This, however, was done within six months, much to the surprise of the Prussians, who wished that they had asked for more. The details of the

war are details which will never be forgotten in France. At first, Napoleon intended to invade the territory of the Germans, but he soon found that he had miscalculated the strength of the enemy. Although at first the French gained a slight victory, disaster soon followed upon disaster, and it was the Germans who invaded France. A large part of the French army was then shut up in Metz, and another army, which was coming to its relief, was forced to surrender at Sedan. Napoleon III himself was taken prisoner, and all his men were disarmed with the exception of the officers, who were allowed to keep their swords.

Then Bismarck and the Emperor held a conference, at which Bismarck wished the Emperor to admit the defeat of the French nation; to this Napoleon would not agree. Shortly afterwards news came to him that there had been another revolution in Paris, that he had been deposed, and that a Third Republic had been set up.

As the newly-formed Government in Paris would not listen to the demands of Moltke, the Prussian commander-in-chief, and Bismarck, the Prussian armies marched from Sedan and laid siege to Paris. The siege lasted from September 19, 1870 to January 28, 1871. The Parisians suffered extreme hardships before they gave in. They were obliged to eat even rats, cats, and dogs; and their only means of communicating with the outside world were balloons and carrier pigeons. At last the Government was forced to offer terms of peace, and, as we have seen, they got little mercy from Germany.

Napoleon was taken as prisoner to Germany. After peace was made he fled to England, as so many of the rulers of France had done before. He died at Chislehurst on January 9, 1873.

Napoleon III is indeed an extraordinary character. He had an overweening belief in his own powers, and also the ability of imposing this belief on others, except those of his own immediate circle. He was an adventurer, always seeking distraction in war. Thus he became a great danger to Europe, for no one knew what mad scheme he might be contemplating. It is extraordinary that the French nation should have allowed such an impostor to rule for so long.

CHAPTER IX

THE HISTORY OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC DOWN TO 1910

It is time to give some details here of the manner in which the Third Empire was overthrown in Paris. The news of the defeat at Sedan reached Paris on September 3, and the Assembly immediately proposing to set up a 'Government of National Defence', the mob took the matter into their own hands. An unruly crowd invaded the Assembly, and after a scene of great disorder, the Deputies were persuaded to proceed with them to the Hôtel de Ville. Here the Third Republic was proclaimed by Gambetta. For the emergencies of the moment a Provisional Government under General Trochu was set up.

Gambetta (1838–82) was a man of extraordinary fire and dash. He was half-Italian and half-French, his father being a native of Genoa and his mother a French woman. By profession he was a lawyer. In 1869, when he entered the Assembly, he was antagonistic to the Empire and he had also strenuously opposed the war with Prussia until he found that it had been forced upon France. Then he supported it with great vigour and now, when she was suffering defeat, he was essentially the most active member of the Provisional Government and the most eager to make her show resistance.

The Provisional Government divided itself into two sections: part of it remained in Paris, which was, as

we have seen, besieged by the Prussians; part of it retired to the provinces, first to Tours, then to Bordeaux. Gambetta remained awhile in Paris, and then managed to effect his escape during the siege in a balloon. He then succeeded in rousing the provinces to resist the Prussians and, had not Bazaine treacherously given in at Metz, there is no doubt but that the army which he raised might have freed France from the Prussians. But this disaster, and the fact that the siege of Paris was proceeding with calamitous results, forced the Government to ask for an armistice in order that arrangements for peace might be made. Gambetta was full of resentment at this. Had it been possible for him to have his way, he would never have given in.

In order that the representatives of the people might discuss terms of surrender, early in February elections were held for the National Assembly. On February 13 it met at Bordeaux and assumed the powers of government. Four days later Thiers was elected 'Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic'. This arrangement was known as 'The Compact of Bordeaux'. The preliminaries of peace were settled on February 26 at Versailles. Part of the agreement was that the Prussians should occupy Paris until the terms of peace were ratified. The French people were determined that the triumph of the Prussians should be shortlived. On March 1 the Prussians entered Paris, and had the satisfaction of marching down the Champs Elysées and through the Arc de Triomphe, but that was all. They had to evacuate Paris almost at once on March 3. On May 10 the terms of peace, agreed upon at Versailles, were formally incorporated in the Treaty of Frankfort. They were as follows: France gave up

Alsace, excluding Belfort, and part of Lorraine, and agreed to pay an indemnity of 50,000,000 francs. The Prussian Army was to enter Paris. This humiliation had been consented to by Thiers in order that France might retain Belfort. On no other conditions would the Prussians concede this important town.

The negotiations for peace were made much more difficult because France was threatened with a new danger from within. The Socialists, Jacobins, Anarchists, and discontented workmen in Paris, believing that treachery had brought about the defeat of France, and hating the shame of Paris, proclaimed a Commune on March 28; that is, they declared that they recognized no other government than the one which they proceeded to provide for themselves. Their theory was that all the great cities of the country should organize themselves into Communes and join together in a federation. The Republican Government was obliged to move to Versailles, and at length had to take up a second siege of Paris (beginning April 6) against their own compatriots. The victorious Prussians who were still occupying the districts round Paris, until such time as the indemnity should have been paid, were thus witnesses of the enemies they had so lately subdued fighting one another. The rule of the Commune was ineffective in practice, though in theory they declared that military service was compulsory on all men of military age, that all the acts of the 'Versailles Government' were null and void, and that the Government of Paris was under the management of ten committees. They adopted the Republican calendar and the red flag of the Socialists. The Commune lasted from March 28 to May 22. During this time, much

damage was done to the ancient buildings of France. The Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville were burnt down, besides other famous buildings. There was also much bloodshed in repressing the revolt. Over 6,500 men are known to have been slain. More than 7,000 were sent to New Caledonia, and 13,000 were condemned to some sort of punishment.

When this trouble was over, Thiers set himself to raise the money, which was to be paid in coin, for the indemnity. This was done with wonderful celerity by the patriotic French. The Prussians were disappointed, when they discovered this, that they had not asked for more, and declared that next time 'they would bleed France white'.

On August 31, 1871, Thiers was definitely elected President of the Republic, but he did not hold this office long. There were many who liked to think of the Republic as but a temporary expedient. Thiers was not willing to take up this reactionary point of view and, as the Monarchist party was gradually increasing in strength, he was obliged to resign on May 24, 1873. During this short period Thiers had set about reorganizing France. He had recalled the Orléanist princes and restored their estates, an act which lessened their chances of successful opposition to a Republican Government because, as they had accepted favours from the Government, they were less likely to oppose it successfully. He also did away with the National Guard and substituted a regular army, recruited by compulsory military service.

On the day that Thiers resigned, Marshal MacMahon was elected President. He held this office till January 30, 1879. MacMahon symbolized the thoroughly

reactionary policy of his supporters, who hoped by his aid to bring about a return of the Monarchy. The ministry was at first under the Duc de Broglie, the chief of the Orléanist Party, and as it gave out that its purpose was to restore the 'moral order' destroyed by the Extremists, it was soon nicknamed 'the Government of the Moral Order'.

'The Moral Order' tried persistently to undermine the Republicans and also to give the clergy more power. In accordance with these views, all officials holding republican opinions were dismissed and great encouragement was given to the clergy. These aims were strenuously opposed by Gambetta, who determined to obtain a definite constitution for the Republic and to safeguard personal liberty. The candidate of the Monarchists was Henri, Comte de Chambord, the grandson of Charles X; his successor, who was to take the title of Dauphin, was to be Louis Philippe, Comte de Paris, grandson of the Orléanist King, Louis Philippe. This arrangement between the rival candidates to the throne was made at Frohsdorf in Austria, August 1872. The plans of the Monarchists, however, came to naught owing to what seems to be a trivial detail. The Comte de Chambord would not sacrifice the white flag of the Bourbons as a national emblem for the tricolour. He, of course, regarded the Bourbon flag as the symbol of the divine right of kings and the guarantee of the principle of hereditary right. As he would not give up his point, the Assembly conferred the Presidency on MacMahon for seven years. This law is known as the Law of the Septennate, November 19, 1873.

In 1875, after a long struggle between the parties in the Assembly, a Republican Constitution was finally

agreed upon. 'To speak accurately, there is no constitution of 1875 in the sense of the previous French constitutions. We use the word, however, of the Septennate Law of 1873, and the three Lois Constitutionnelles of 1875, taken together and completed by various organic laws of senators and representatives. These must still be interpreted by means of the two laws of 1871 and 1873 which had regulated the power of Thiers.' Some slight changes of detail were made in 1884.

The Constitution declared that the President of the Republic should be elected by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies sitting together and thus constituting the National Assembly. Nowadays, when it is about to elect a President, the National Assembly meets at Versailles. There is no discussion. An urn is placed in the centre and the Deputies file past and put in their votes, scrutators of which are drawn by lot from the members of the Assembly. All the national solemnities are presided over by the President. He has a salary of £24,000, and £24,000 for expenses. He has two official residences, the Palais de l'Elysée and the Chateau de Rambouillet. He appoints all the civil and military officers, and has the prerogative of mercy. He is also Grand Master of the Legion of Honour, and wears the great sash or cordon of the Order on all state occasions. Now all his public acts are done through ministers who are held responsible.

The Chamber of Deputies is elected by universal suffrage, and is renewed every four years. Every man over 25 is eligible unless he is a soldier or a sailor. Members of families who have reigned in France, and those holding public offices which are remunerated by the State, are also ineligible.

The Senate is a body of 300 members, a quarter of whom were till 1875 elected for life. To-day, the 300 are appointed for seven years. They must be 40 years of age and they are elected indirectly by electoral colleges in the departments.

The Republic was thus set upon a definite basis, but Gambetta was still the great enemy of the Government under MacMahon. Therefore, in 1877, when MacMahon attempted to govern with a reactionary Ministry in spite of the fact that a Republican majority had been returned to the Assembly at the recent elections, Gambetta proceeded to rouse the Republican party. This was so successful that MacMahon was forced to retire on January 30, 1879. One of the chief causes of irritation against him was his encouragement of the increasing power of the clergy. Gambetta fought against clericalism because he believed it to be unfair that all education should be placed in its power.

On the resignation of Marshal MacMahon, Jules Grévy, a Republican, became President, with Gambetta in the background as his chief supporter, and from November 14, 1881 till January 26, 1882 he was actually Prime Minister. He might have done great things but in 1882 he was accidentally killed after a ministry of 66 days. Gambetta, it is said, rendered France three great services. He preserved the self-respect of the nation during the Franco-Prussian War, he persuaded the Extremists to accept a moderate Republic, and he overcame the reactionary policy of Marshal MacMahon.

The Republic had thus successfully withstood a serious attack against itself by the Monarchists. Its enemies were again to combine against it, making this

time a tool of General Boulanger in the years 1887–9. Boulanger became a popular figure in French politics when, as Minister for War in 1886, he introduced many salutary reforms into the French Army of far-reaching effect, touching both officers and men. He was now the open enemy of the Republic, wishing to have instead of its present organization a single-chamber government, with a President at its head who was to be elected by universal suffrage and to be independent of the Assembly. In short, Boulanger wished to revert to a system which might easily have given a second Louis Napoleon to France. He was in his day the idol of Paris; his fine military bearing made a good spectacular effect as he rode through the streets of the capital on his black horse, and this was not the least of the reasons which made the people worship him. He rapidly became the centre of discontent; all those who were disaffected towards the Republic joined him, and there was a popular song in France at that time beginning 'C'est Boulanger qu'il nous faut', that alone must have had an ominous sound in the ears of the friends of the Republic. The Government at last began to find him a real embarrassment. In 1888 his name was removed from the Army List; yet in spite of this he was, in 1889, returned as Deputy for Paris. However, M. Constans, the Minister for the Interior, cut the Gordian knot by issuing a warrant for his arrest on the plea that the Republic was in danger. General Boulanger forestalled the date of his arrest by fleeing first to Brussels and then to England. He lived for some time in Jersey, and at length committed suicide in Belgium in 1891.

The next attack upon the Republic came from the

clerical party and the anti-Semitic party; the attack this time centred round the famous Dreyfus case. Though in the first instance this notable case was but a symptom of the political hatred of the Jews which was then rampant in Europe, it was cleverly used by the enemies of the Republic to discredit the Government in the eyes of the nation. They endeavoured to show that the Government was almost entirely in the grip of the Jews, who were 'people of no country' and therefore knew not the virtue of loyalty; rather, on the other hand, it was declared they were men who would sell the best interests of France to the highest bidder. Before describing the details of the Dreyfus case, it is necessary, in order that this point may be rightly understood, to trace the history of this anti-Semitic feeling in France.

In the year 1882 a definite anti-Jewish movement was set on foot, the origin of which, it is interesting to notice, has been traced to German influences. In this year, a society called the Union Générale failed after a precarious existence of five years. This society, which had been blessed by the Pope, had been designed to break up the alleged monopoly of Jews and Protestants in places of power in France. When the society failed as a commercial concern, there was a strong feeling current that its downfall had been worked by the Jews in power. All the evils of government were now ascribed to this race.

This idea of the general corruption of the Government was heightened by the Wilson scandal which was brought to light in 1887. During the Presidency of M. Grévy, it was discovered that the decoration of the Legion of Honour was being obtained by the bribery

of influential persons. M. Wilson, a Republican Deputy and the son-in-law of M. Grévy, and a former Under-Secretary of State, was implicated in these transactions. Then, again, as the anti-Semitic party, among others, had strongly supported Boulanger, its animosity was all the more increased because it was Joseph Reinach, a Jew, formerly secretary to Gambetta and a strong Republican, who chanced eventually to bring about the rout of his followers. In 1891 an anti-Semitic league was formed, and in 1892 an anti-Semitic newspaper, *La Libre Parole*, voiced the opinions of this society. In the same year, public belief in the corruption of the Government was strengthened by the discovery of the Panama scandal. The failure of this project touched the pockets and kindled the imagination of the whole nation. The vast scheme for this canal had been planned by de Lesseps, the engineer of the Suez Canal, and a man who for this outward and visible piece of work was regarded as a national hero. Many of the poorest of the French had invested their savings in this new undertaking. In all, the vast sum of about 50,000,000 francs had been collected, mostly in small sums. Not only did the scheme prove a failure from a variety of reasons, such as complications with the United States, but in 1892 it became certain that much of the money could not be accounted for. M. de Lesseps, now an old man (b. 1805), and many other prominent persons were charged with misappropriation, and he, along with others, was eventually convicted, though his sentence of imprisonment was afterwards remitted. This scandal soon had other effects, beyond mere loss of money; so widespread was the fear of corruption that distrust on all sides was rampant. It is said that

in the Chamber, instead of orderly discussion of matters of business, 'wholesale denunciations of ministers, senators and deputies took the place of debate'. This distressing fiasco had been in itself enough to shake public confidence in the integrity of its political leaders.

Thus it is easy to imagine the state of high tension in which public opinion found itself when on October 15, 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a French soldier of Jewish antecedents, was arrested and brought to trial on the accusation of having carried on treasonable correspondence with Germany. The agitation caused by this case, as it proved, was to keep France in a ferment for over twelve years, and the effects of it were such as could hardly be foreseen, for among other things it eventually brought about the disestablishment of the French Church.

The evidence against Captain Dreyfus was based upon an undated bordereau, or list of documents, said to be in his handwriting, addressed to a military attaché of a foreign country, presumably Germany. These had been found in a waste-paper basket. Early in 1895, Dreyfus was tried and found guilty and condemned to be publicly degraded. Finally, he was transported to the Île de Diable in French Guiana. By the year 1899, however, many people began to be convinced that Dreyfus was innocent; though all this while a violent anti-Jewish propaganda was in progress. Among Dreyfus' most ardent supporters were Zola, the eminent French novelist, and Colonel Picquart, the head of the military secret service department, and Reinach, the old opponent of the Boulangists. In 1899 Dreyfus was brought back to France, and tried by court-martial at Rennes; but here again the trial went against him.

On September 9 he was again found guilty, though ten days later he was pardoned by President Loubet; this extension of the prerogative of mercy on the part of the President, however, did not honourably vindicate his innocence. In 1906 his case was again brought up before the Cour de Cassation, or the Final Court of Appeal. It was here decided that his case was based on forgery; the decision passed at Rennes was annulled. The real culprits in the case proved to be Major Esterhazy and Colonel Henry. Major Esterhazy was a French officer of bad character; Colonel Henry had succeeded Colonel Picquart as chief of the military secret service department. Esterhazy confessed that he wrote the memorandum for which Dreyfus was punished; and Colonel Henry confessed that he had forged one of the documents which had been used to convict Dreyfus. The French Government did what it could to repair the wrong done to Dreyfus and Picquart who, as the defender of Dreyfus, had been imprisoned because he was suspected of being his accomplice. Dreyfus was restored to the French Army and created a Knight of the Legion of Honour. The bones of Zola, who died before Dreyfus was acquitted, were removed to the Panthéon, the most honoured resting-place in France.

The affair had been a great source of weakness to the Government, and as throughout the case the clericals, and especially the Jesuits, had used their influence to discredit the Republic and fan the anti-Jewish feeling, this made the Government determined to overthrow the power of the Church. This process came about during the next ten years; the first step was taken when, in 1901, the 'Law of Associations' was passed, legalizing the formation of associations, under certain

conditions, except those of religious congregations which were not authorized by the law. This law was directed against the religious orders, especially the Jesuits, whose influence was believed to have greatly increased in recent years in France. As few orders were legally established in France, the law of 1901 was a great blow to them. In 1903 this law was rigorously enforced, and many schools were broken up simply because the teachers were said to belong to unauthorized religious orders. From this year onwards there was a steady migration of religious communities to countries where they would not be disturbed. Very many of these exiled communities came to England. Finally, in 1905, was passed the decisive Act of Separation between Church and State. This Act ordained that the property of religious bodies was to be transferred to new associations for worship (Associations Cultuelles). Upon this the Pope made the quarrel more bitter by refusing to sanction the formation of these associations. In 1907, however, the situation was somewhat relieved when a law was passed which permitted the formation of ordinary associations under the regulations embodied in the law of 1901.

The foreign policy of France has, since 1871, been a spirited one in spite of her constant fear of a second German attack; this menace, however, has not prevented France from setting to work to build up the second largest colonial Empire in the world. The greatness of this achievement is easily lost sight of if we forget that France, though she to all appearances recovered quickly from the troubles of 1871, for the indemnity was paid off, as we have seen, with remarkable celerity, yet was nine years at least burdened with

the task of reconstruction and reorganization, joined to the ever-pressing fear of an immediate second attack. We know how nearly war was brought about in 1875, and how justified France has been in always keeping this possibility before her eyes. The harshness of the terms Germany exacted from France, the vulgarity with which the Germans humiliated the French in their defeat with deliberate insult, sowed the seeds of undying enmity between French and Germans and effectually prevented a lasting peace, as the French plenipotentiaries told Bismarck at the time. Besides which no Frenchman has ever forgotten the cession of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871; even had the French wished to bury the past, the Germans have made it impossible. The people of these two provinces, though in many cases German-speaking, and of German descent, have never liked the change of rule. Before 1870 they had grown to like French ways, French laws, and the French government; the Germans, on the other hand, were determined to force the people of these conquered provinces to become patriotic members of the Empire. They tried to gain their end in many exasperating and stupid ways, by overawing the populace with the military, by encouraging an overbearing attitude in the garrisons, by interfering with the education of the children, and by issuing proclamations ordering the use of the German tongue. Hence, a large part of the inhabitants of these provinces has grown up with a rooted dislike to all things German, and the discontented population has kept alive the hatred of the German rule which dates from 1871.

France has, however, all along been aware that she was not strong enough to undertake an aggressive war

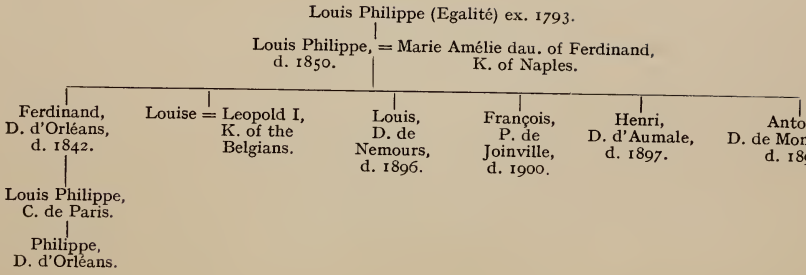
on Germany, and therefore whilst Germany, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, was concentrating her efforts upon becoming all-powerful in Europe, France turned her attention to another task, that of building up a strong colonial Empire on the African shores of the Mediterranean. The period between 1881–1904 was her most active time of colonial expansion. In 1881 she occupied Tunis and set about the development of Algeria which had been acquired between 1830–47. This occupation of Tunis gave serious offence to Italy, who considered that Tunis was destined, if only by historical tradition, to fall to her share. Her remonstrances with France being in vain, she joined in a Triple Alliance in 1882 with Austria and Germany, and in 1888 very nearly came into conflict with France. However, Italy at last found compensation in the occupation of Tripoli. By 1904, however, it became clear to France that trouble with Germany was not far distant. Friction came about over the question of Morocco. France had adopted a policy of 'peaceful penetration' towards Morocco; that is, she developed a large trade there. Many French merchants settled in the country and in 1904, when there were native disturbances, the French Government urged the Sultan to set about making reforms, having previously induced Great Britain to give her a free hand in Morocco. There was some show of rebellion against this interference, and the German Emperor complicated matters by visiting Tangier and declaring that he too should have been consulted and that he would deal directly with the Sultan, without regard to France. Then he not only lent the Sultan money, but insisted that a Conference of the European

powers should be called to consider the question of reform. The Conference was held at Algeçiras (1905); and afterwards, France was obliged to get rid of her Foreign Minister, M. Delcassé, who was displeasing to Germany. This whole episode was a distinct humiliation for France. She could not fight because she was not prepared for war and her ally, Russia, was weakened by her losses in the Japanese War. The German Emperor's attitude, at least, had this benefit, it awakened the French nation from any false sense of security into which they might have fallen during the last ten prosperous years. France began therefore to look to her defences and alliances. The Russian alliance had been formed in 1897, and in 1904 Great Britain and France made up the chief differences which had kept them apart, that is, questions arising out of the Newfoundland fisheries and the British occupation of Egypt. Then again in 1906 France and Italy made up their differences about Ethiopia. Finally, in 1909, the Triple Entente between France, Russia, and Great Britain was brought about, mainly by the mediation of France. In 1911, again, events justified French foreign policy when the German Emperor once more interfered in Morocco by sending a gunboat, the *Panther*, to protect his subjects on the occasion of a rising in Morocco. It was said that he did this to test the strength of the Anglo-French Entente; and he got a definite answer, for France replied to his veiled threat in 1912 by establishing a protectorate over Morocco, that is, a system of colonization 'which allows the native forms of government to continue, under careful supervision, but gives the fullest opportunities for "peaceful penetration" by the explorer and the merchant'. It was

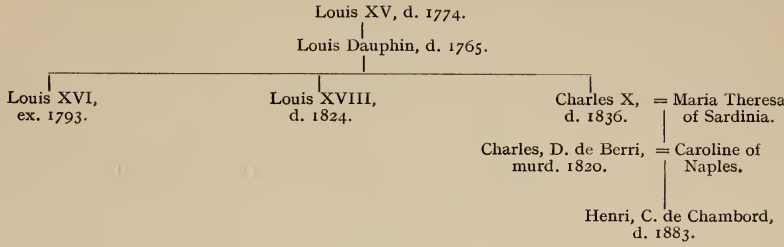
abundantly proved that Germany wished both in 1905 and 1912 to push France from the privileged position she had won for herself in Morocco.

Here we must leave French history, on the eve of the greatest war the world has ever seen. In the light of our knowledge of the causes of this war, and the gallant fight which France has made, a review, however slight, of her history between the years 1789 and 1914 should fill the reader with a sense of admiration for the unparalleled courage and vitality of this nation. The excesses of revolutionary times may have been great, but at least France freely paid a heavy price for the sake of her principles. She shook herself free from the bonds of old thoughts, old customs, and worn-out ideals, and if in the later years of her history we find her variable, now dazzled with dreams of empire, now almost pathetically wishing to return to the rule of a mediaeval monarch, now claiming that a Republic is the only reasonable form of government, we cannot but perceive in the history of these years innumerable manifestations of that spirit which has animated her since 1914, which has made her defence of Verdun and her championship of the liberties of Europe furnish material which will make one of the grandest epics of history.

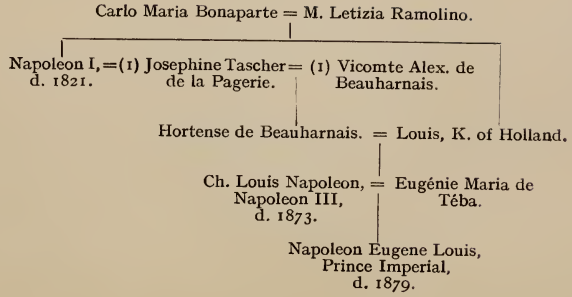
ORLÉANS


Louis Philippe (Egalité) ex. 1793.
Louis Philippe, d. 1850.
= Marie Amélie dau. of Ferdinand, K. of Naples.
Ferdinand, D. d'Orléans, d. 1842.
Louise = Leopold I, K. of the Belgians.
Louis, D. de Nemours, d. 1896.
François, P. de Joinville, d. 1900.
Henri, D. d'Aumale, d. 1897.
Antoine, D. de Montpensier, d. 1890.
Louis Philippe, C. de Paris.
Philippe, D. d'Orléans.

BOURBON


Louis XV, d. 1774.
Louis Dauphin, d. 1765.
Louis XVI, ex. 1793.
Louis XVIII, d. 1824.
Charles X, d. 1836.
= Maria Theresa of Sardinia.
Charles, D. de Berri, murd. 1820.
= Caroline of Naples.
Henri, C. de Chambord, d. 1883.

BONAPARTE


Carlo Maria Bonaparte = M. Letizia Ramolino.
Napoleon I, = (1) Josephine Tascher = (1) Vicomte Alex. de
d. 1821. de la Pagerie. Beauharnais.
Hortense de Beauharnais. = Louis, K. of Holland.
Ch. Louis Napoleon, = Eugénie Maria de
Napoleon III, Téba.
d. 1873.
Napoleon Eugene Louis,
Prince Imperial,
d. 1879.

PRESIDENTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

(Elected for a term of seven years)

Date of Election.	
August, 1871	Thiers.
May, 1873	MacMahon.
January, 1879	Grévy, re-elected 1886, resigned.
December, 1887	Carnot, murdered.
June, 1894	Casimir-Périer, resigned.
January, 1895	Faure, died.
February, 1899	Loubet.
January, 1906	Fallières.
January, 1913	Poincaré.

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